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POLITICAL HISTORY OF INDIA

L'INDE CLASSIQUE
MANUEL DES ETUDES INDIENNES

CLASSICAL INDIA

BY

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CLASSICAL INDIA VOLUME TWO

POLITICAL HISTORY OF INDIA

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE 7th CENTUARY A. D.

BY

JEAN FILLIOZAT

Translated from the French by Philip Spratt

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1. SOURCES

Preliminary

§ 1. The educated class of ancient India attached little value to history. Their philosophy turned their thoughts away from it. In theory that philosophy sought the Absolute; in practice it taught them to preserve their equanimity in the face of the contingencies of life. Doubtless kings had their genealogies preserved and their exploits celebrated, but too often these were celebrated in pompous and empty phrases, and the genealogies were tainted with serious errors. Errors are inevitable, but sometimes they were made willingly: an able genealogist could do much to establish the prestige of a dynasty. More truthful than authors' memories, the Indian soil has fortunately preserved monuments more authentic than the statements of court poets and the compilers of legends. Quite apart from all literary evidence, the material relics of the Indian civilisation would enable us to follow the general development from prehistoric times till to-day. Numerous inscriptions add to our information, and for some periods constitute the whole of it. In additoin to panegyrics we find detailed documents, charters of donations or foundations, writings full of names, facts and dates which suffice completely to establish many special historical points. These special points become precious landmarks: they do not themselves show the course of events, but they enable us to plot it exactly. Even panegyrics are not entirely withot value. The evidence of foreign writers who have visited India supplies further data, establishes synchronisms, and allows us to reconstruct for India a large part of the history which she herself disregarded.

§ 2. The Sanskrit texts of Buddhism glorify a pious monarch, Asoka, who would be taken, at first sight, as a figure from legend. But the stone edicts of a king Piyadasi have been preserved, and the *Dipavamsa,* the chronicle of Ceylon, informs us that Piyadasi is another name of Asoka. The *Mahavamsa,* the great chronicle of Ceylon, places his coronation at a date which corresponds to 325 B.C. This date would establish the chronology of Asoka's empire, which was very large, judging from the distribution of his edicts throughout India. It would also fix the dates of the whole dynasty to which Asoka belonged, about which the texts inform us.

Above all, it would fix an important date in the expansion of Buddhism which Asoka protected. However, among the contemporary kings mentioned in the edicts are Antiyoka, Turamaya, Antikini, Maga and Alikasandra, who are Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigone, Magas and Alexander; and we know that these Greek kings reigned simultaneously between 260 and 250 B.C. Thus we have to correct the chronology of the Sinhalese chronicles, which however are known by facts from other sources to be generally reliable. This is a typical example of the way in which, in order to reconstruct Indian history, it is necessary to bring together the various types of information, archæological, epigraphic, historical, literary and foreign, which we shall now review.

(a) Archæological Sources

Prehistoric Sources

§ 3. Before the appearance of man the fauna of India showed a profusion of anthropoids (revealed by excavations in the Siwalik hills). In the upper valley of the Indus five glacial cycles can be distinguished. At the end of the second of these appear biface stone stools of the Chelleo-Acheulean type, and in the third an industry called the Sohan, characterised by quartzite pebbles with one edge retouched on both sides. In the lower valley of the Narmada, and in the basins of the Krishna and the Godavari, an industry of the first type is found. In the upper valley of the Narmada an industry of the second type is found, while at Kurnool bone tools, and in Central India, at Jabalpur, geometrical microliths are found. Many neolithic sites are known, and provisionally at least three types of industry are distinguished, which, beginning with the earliest, are those of Banda, Bellary and Chota Nagpur. The last named is also found in Assam, where in addition there exists a megalithic industry still practised in our own day by the Kasi (Khasia). In Bellary the first metal found is iron, and this fact has led some to infer, though on insufficient grounds, that the iron industry originated in India. Considerable numbers of funerary jars (Laffitte) and of funerary pits in which ashes had been buried, (Boulnois and Faucheux) have been found in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry. Cave paintings, generally in hæmatite, are found in the caves of Singhanpur, Mirzapur, Ghatsila, Bellary and the Kæmor hills. The relative dates of these paintings and their affinities with those of prehistoric sites in other countries have been discussed, and speculative theories have been advanced about prehistoric civilisa-

tions. Actually, as is the case at other sites these paintings are merely crude depictions of hunting scenes, with little distinctive character.

The Indus Civilisation

§ 4. On the other hand, a civilisation which is very typical and of considerable importance lies near the historical period. It is true that we have no exact data on its history, but it was contemporary with the civilisations of Mesopotamia, which are known historically. Its existence is revealed by the excavations at Harappa in the Panjab and above all at Mohenjo-Daro, the "Hill of the Dead", in Sind, and about 35 other sites in the same area. Some finds had been made there long ago, but it was not known to what age they should be referred. To the misfortune of archæology, the great town of Harappa had for a long time been used as a source of building materials, and it was only in 1921 that the excavations of Daya Ram Sahni proved its great antiquity. In 1922 R. D. Banerji, excavating Buddhist ruins at Mohenjo-Daro, discovered beneath them a large town like that at Harappa in which investigations could be carried out methodically.

They revealed the existence of several towns built successively on the same site, and built not haphazard but according to plan. The streets are parallel or cut at right angles, and are complemented by a system of underground drains unlike anything known elsewhere in the ancient world. A large bath, and a building which was probably a market, are the principal edifices found hitherto. They are in baked brick. The Indus, which to-day is more than three miles away, was nearer in earlier times and has flooded the town or its suburbs on two or three occasions. Soft stone was used to make various objects : limestone and alabaster for the larger ones, and steatite for the smaller. Copper, lead, tin, gold and silver were used, pure or in alloys (bronze and electrum), but iron seems to have been unknown. But rectangular plates of flint, which have been compared to the neolithic plates of Pondicherry (Boulnois) were still in use. Pottery and sculpture are represented by some remarkable specimens. Some fragments of cotton cloth have been found. Finally a script consisting of geometrical designs and schematic representations appears in short inscriptions on steatite objects which are probably seals, on cylinder seals, and on copper tablets which may have been used as amulets. Most of these objects are square, and bear pictures of animals beneath the inscriptions. On the cylin-

ders the figures and signs are engraved; on the other objects they are in relief.

§ 5. These remains do not, unfortunately, give any information on the history of the people who left them. They have therefore given rise to many hypotheses, of which most are arbitrary and all are provisional. One fact, however, provides a valuable chronological point of reference: seals from the Indus have been found in Mesopotamia and in Elam in dated levels. One of them, discovered at Ur, carries a very short inscription in cuneiform characters (see § 162) instead of the Indus characters, and dates from the pre-Sargon period, perhaps rather more than 2,500 B.C. Others, found at Kish, Tel Asmar, etc., are in levels of the same date. Since there is no reason to suppose that these Indus seals were taken to Mesopotamia as antiquities, it is almost certain that they belong to that period. Thus this gives us an approximate date for the Indus civilisation, but since the seals from different levels at Mohenjo-Daro are much alike, it is impossible to tell to which level the date thus fixed corresponds.

Although we lack exact historical information, some of the finds permit us to make definite inferences: the use of mineral substances foreign to Sind proves the existence of commercial relations with distant places, and the presence of different human types proves the mixed character of the population. The skeletons are of three main types. Indus A and B are dolichocephalic, A being particularly strong and with high cranial capacity and an exceptional development of the post-auricular region. Indus C is brachycephalic, with a high vaulted cranium flattened at the back. Similar types are found at Tel-el-Obaid and Kish in Mesopotamia (see also § 55). In addition to these some proto-Australoid and Mediterranean type skulls, and one Mongoloid and one Alpine type skulls have been found.

The Civilisations of Amri and Baluchistan

§ 6. At Amri, 80 miles south of Mohenjo-Daro, beneath objects corresponding to the Mohenjo-Daro civilisation (pottery with black designs on a red base), Majumdar has found pottery with black or red designs on a light base, similar in its ornamental motifs to the Mesopotamian pottery of Jemdet Nasr and Tel-el-Obaid, which may date as far back as 3,200 or 3,400 B.C. Thus we have traces of a civilisation anterior to that of Mohenjo-Daro. In central Baluchistan, especially at Kulli and Mehi, pottery similar to that of Amri has been found. Farther

west, at Shah-i-Tump, an ornamental motif related to that of Susa, first period (a little before 3,000 B.C.); and farther east, at Nal, have been found objects of less ancient manufacture, possibly later than those of Mohenjo-Daro.

The Jhukar Civilisation

§ 7. The sites at Jhukar and Chanhu-Daro in the Indus valley have yielded, from levels more recent than those corresponding to Mohenjo-Daro, traces of a civilisation which appears to be degenerate in relation to that city, characterised by a hafted bronze axe, a quite handsome style of pottery, and seals which are round and bear no inscriptions, in contrast to those of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa.

Relics of the Vedic Era

§ 8. No Indian monument can be attributed with certainty to the period of the settlement of the Aryan clans in India. Between the pre-Aryan period and the first centuries of Buddhism there is a complete absence of archæological monuments. The period of the Aryan settlement coincides, therefore, with a decline of architecture and of urban living. It is probable that building was done only in perishable materials, especially wood. The use of wood in some Buddhist buildings, and the imitation of wooden constructions in stone in some others, make this hypothesis very probable. Some tumuli found at Lauriya Nandangarh in Bihar have been attributed to the Vedic period (Th. Bloch). They are formed of alternate layers of clay and straw pierced by a vertical stake of sal (Shorea robusta) wood, above which are placed some human bones, some charcoal, and a small gold leaf carrying a female image. The relative positions of these tumuli may correspond to the prescriptions of the Vedic ritual, but the question is undecided.

Early Monuments

§ 9. The oldest monuments appear only in the last centuries B.C. before the advent of Christ. In many instances the presence of modern buildings on the sites prevents the excavation of ancient towns. The remains of colossal ancient walls have always been visible at the site of Rajagriha. However, a thorough excavation has been conducted at Taxila (J. Marshall).

In general, excavations and archæological investigations give us information about monuments which were either

standing or buried, about caves, and about other objects. All these remains are dated by the inscriptions which are found on them. However, even if inscriptions are lacking, relative dating is possible from the superposition of deposits or buildings, and from the comparison of types and styles. Dated objects then serve as fixed points for the establishment of a chronology. Archæology is based on history, and in turn gives it support.

Caves and Pools

§ 10. Many caves (*layana,* Prakrit, *lena*), natural or dug out, in the mountains, were used as residences by devotees of various sects. The inscriptions associated with them often indicate by whom and in favour of which religion they were granted or dug. Pools (*puskarini*) are often pious foundations marked by inscriptions in the same way as caves.

Commemorative and Votive Monuments

§ 11. The simplest votive monuments are pillars (*stambha*), which are usually inscribed. They are often surmounted by a capital carrying religious images, for example, images of Garuda, the mount of Vishnu.

The Buddhist stupas, which may originally have been funerary tumuli, are usually reliquaries. The masonary domes shelter relics and are embellished with characteristic ornaments. Their situation and orientation, and their ornaments, may be symbolic. The best known are those of Gandhara, of Central India (Bharhut and Sanchi), and of the eastern Deccan (Amaravati and Nagarjunikonda).

Temples and Monasteries

§ 12. Temples and monasteries appear only relatively late. Many are caves specially dug out or enlarged (Bhaja, Karle, Kanheri, and Ajanta in the Deccan). It is a fact very characteristic of Indian architecture that some temples are not built but, despite their great size, sculpted out of the mountain (Kailasa at Ellora). Some religions have left a specially large number of monuments. The Jains built or excavated remarkable temples at Mount Abu in Rajasthan, at Girnar in Kathiawar, and in Mysore. The principal temples in the south are Saiva. Certain dynasties built a great deal, such as the Andhrabhritya (Amaravati), the Pallava (Mamallapuram), the Chalukya (Badami, Ajanta), the Rashtrakuta (Ellora, Elephanta), and the Hoysala in Mysore. These monuments due to the piety of the

faithful and to kings are witnesses to the faith, the prosperity and the artistic taste of their era. They are often the only remaining evidence of a grandeur forgotten by the historical documents.

Sculptures

§ 13. Sculptures include reliefs decorating buildings, caves and even the sides of mountains (the gigantic statues of Bamiyan), and isolated pieces, statues for the most part. The influences of one region or epoch on another are traceable from iconographic comparisons perhaps more easily than in any other way. The important fact of the influence of Greece on India was revealed by the sculpture of Gandhara, which is Greco-Buddhist (Foucher). Carved and inscribed objects, as in shrines like Piprahva, Peshawar, are evidence on history and religion at the same time (see § 89). The discovery of foreign objects is proof of relations with the country from which they came, usually in the period from which they date. Thus in India as elsewhere archæology supplies facts for history.

(b) Literary sources

Historical texts :

The Ancient Pali Chronicles of Ceylon

§ 14. The most ancient historical texts which have come down to us are in Pali and derive from Ceylon. They relate to Buddhism, and inform us especially on its ancient history in India first of all and then on its history in Ceylon. At the same time they form the chronicles of the island in the proper sense of the term. They have been continued down to modern times by other chronicles in Pali or Singhalese. The monks of Indo-China who follow the Pali Buddhism have imitated them and have composed local chronicles of their respective countries on the same model. These texts together are the fundamental source of the history of Pali Buddhism, but they are also full of information on political history. The Ceylonese texts also provide dated facts on South India and even on India in general in their treatment of the relations between the island and the mainland.

The Dipavamsa

§ 15. The "History of the Island" covers the period from the earliest times up to King Mahasena of the first half of the IV century. It was written between that time and the second

half of the V century, when it was known to the great commentator on the Pali scriptures, Buddhaghosha. Its anonymous author betrays a certain clumsiness in his use of Pali, and as a versifier. He repeats himself a good deal. He seems to have worked in the "Great Convent" (Mahavihara) of the capital, Anuradhapura, where the *attha katha,* the ancient Singhalese commentaries on the scriptures, were preserved. These commentaries have been lost, but were recast by Buddhaghosa in a Pali form which is preserved. They contained the traditional historical information on the Buddha and the sangha, information intended to guarantee the authenticity of the scriptures by proving the faithfulness with which they had been transmitted. (Vol. III).

The Mahavamsa

§ 16. The "Great History" is better composed and is not without literary value. Its author, Mahanama, at the end of the V century, has used the same material as the *Dipavamsa* and concludes at the same king, Mahasena, after a more coherent and complete narrative. The work comes to a close somewhat suddenly at chapter 37, but is continued in two other books. Its original conclusion must have been suppressed to enable it to combine better with its first supplement, *Sulavamsa,* compiled by Dhammakitti and taking us as far as King Parakkam bahu (1240-75 A.D.). The second supplement, due to Tibbotuvave, prolongs the chronicle upto Kittissiri rajasimha (1774-80). Finally, there exists an augmented edition of *Mahavamsa* which is called the Cambojian, from the writing of the manuscript by which it is represented. (Bible Nat. Pali 632).

Mahavamsatika, "Commentary on the Mahavamsa", or *Vamsatthappakasini,* "Explanation of the Meaning of History", written between 1,000 and 1,250 A.D., tells us that Mahanama's principal source was the *Sihalatthakatha,* "Singhalese Commentary" or *Poranatthakatha,* "Ancient Commentary", the same source as that used by the author of the *Dipavamsa.*

The *Mahavamsa* first tells the legend of the Buddha and of his visits to Ceylon (Lanka), sets forth his genealogy, and then describes the three councils which are supposed to have fixed the canon of his words and his teaching. It places the death of the Buddha at a date corresponding to 543 B.C., and the corronation of Asoka (Dhammasoka) 218 years later, in 325 B.C. According to its account, it was in Asoka's time that the apostle Mahinda brought the sacred texts to Ceylon

under Devanampia Tissa. The last statement is probable, in view of Asoka's zeal in propagating the Buddhist Law. The date given is however too high, since Asoka reigned after Chandragupta and Bindusara, and the accession of Chandragupta is after Alexander's invasion, which took place in 328-327 B.C. It is thus necessary to lower the date of Devanampiya Tissa. Consequently if the interval between the death of the Buddha and the corronation of Asoka is indeed 218 years, it is necessary to bring down the date of the Buddha's death to the same extent. The *Mahavamsa,* then, does not give us a certain chronology, and it is by an artificial arrangement that the altered tradition is made to appear coherent and continuous. However, if we admit an error of some decades in the dates, the historical picture presented by the *Mahavamsa* is broadly correct, as a comparison with facts from other sources shows. For periods less remote from the time of composition, and for the history of its own country, the *Mahavamsa* is more accurate. The details of its account, it is true, must often be rejected. It accepts credulously all the miracles which its Buddhist faith caused it to regard as possible. But if much of its information is subject to doubt, it forms as a whole, nevertheless, a solid historical document.

The same remarks apply to *Sulavamsa,* which enables us to establish certain synchronisms, such as that in the IV century, between the Singhalese king Siri Meghavanna and the emperor Samudragupta. According to Chinese evidence (S. Levi), this emperor received an ambassador from the Ceylonese king Chi-mi-kia-po-mo, that is Sri Meghavarman, who can only be the Meghavanna of the Pali chronicle.

Mediaeval Pali Chronicles

§ 17. The more recent Pali historical texts for the most part reproduce the facts of *Mahavamsa* and show no originality except on points of special or local interest. Most of them relate the legends concerning celebrated relics, or are the chronicles of monasteries.

Bodhivamsa or *Mahabodhivamsa* of the beginning of the XI century by Upatissa is the legend of the Bodhi tree, of which a branch is venerated in Ceylon and is supposed to have been brought there in the time of the apostle Mahinda.

Dathavamsa relates the story of a tooth (datha) of the Buddha, brought to the country from Kalinga in 301 A.D. It was composed at the beginning of the XIII century, under

queen Lilavati, wife of Parakkamabahu I, by one Dhammakitti, who was however different from the editor of *Sulavamsa.*

Thupavamsa, "Story of the Sanctuaries", in particular that of Ruvanvali at Anuradhapura, was composed in the same period by Vachissara.

Hatthavanagalla vihara vamsa, "Story of the Monastery of Hatthavanagalla", also a work of the XIII century, follows *Mahavamsa* in its account of king Siri Sanghabodhi.

Corresponding to these Pali texts there are often others in Singhalese, which are in part translations or adaptations and in part original compositions.

Pali Chronicles of Indo-China

§ 18. Pali chronicles more recent than *Dipavamsa* and *Mahavamsa* have been written outside Ceylon. We have already referred to the so-called Cambojian *Mahavamsa.* In Siam at Ayodayapura (Ayuthya) was written at an unknown date *Saddhamma sangaha,* on the Councils and the beginnings of Buddhism in Ceylon, by Dhammakitti Mahasami, who had studied in Ceylon. At Xieng-mai in 1516 a certain Ratanapanna wrote *Jina kala malini,* which relates the history of Buddhism in India and Ceylon and then in Thailand. It is this last point that gives it its interest, like several other historical works in Pali written in Siam and relating almost entirely to local affairs. In Laos there was at least one local chronicle in Pali, *Vamsa malini,* attributed somewhat imaginatively to Buddhaghosa, which is still extant in a Laotian translation. The best known from Burma are *Chakesa dhatu vamsa,* "Story of the Six Hair-Relics", which is modern, and *Sasana vamsa,* by Pannasami, written in 1861, which gives a history of Buddhism much altered by the transposition of the Indian geographical sites to Burma and neighbouring places. These transpositions diminish the value of the book a great deal but are worth noticing in so far as they often go back to Pannasami's sources, and because, unfortunately for history, such transpositions occur quite frequently in Indian authors as well as in their imitators. Among the Pali historical books from Burma we should include *Gandha vamsa,* "History of Books", a work of Buddhist bibliography, modern but not without value.

Sanskrit Chronicles

§ 19. The Sanskrit texts which can be properly called historical are essentially works of refined poetry which have

more regard to literary value than to the chronological recording of facts. These texts rarely deal with the history of all India, but limit themselves to one country, one dynasty, or even one king.

The Chronicle of Kashmir

§ 20. The most celebrated is the *Rajatarangini,* the "River of Kings", which is a chronicle of Kashmir from its legendary origins down to the middle of the XII century. It was written in 1148 and the following years by Kalhana, son of Champaka, minister of king Harsha (1089-1101). Twelve historical works which Kalhana says he used as sources already existed, notably a composition by Suvrata which summarised the royal chronicles and which he calls a *bharati,* probably a poem of a heroic and fantastic type, *Nripavali,* "Line of Kings", by the celebrated Kshemendra of the XI century, *Parthivavali,* also a "Line of Kings" in 12,000 stanzas by Helaraja, and other works by Padmamihira and Chavillakara, and finally *Nilamata-purana* which, alone of all these texts, has come down to us. But Kalhana did not limit himself to bookish information : he made historical researches himself, as he indicates, taking his material from inscriptions, from charters of foundations (pratistha shasana), from grants of property or land (vastu shasana), from panegyrics (prashasti patta), and finding material even in works of instruction (sastra). These last in some cases set forth traditional historical material, as does the *Brihat samhita,* an astronomical text Kalhana himself cites. Finally, for the events of his own day Kalhana wrote as a direct witness or from the statements of direct witnesses. Here he is often not explicit enough for our liking, doubtless because he was addressing contemporaries who would at once understand any allusion.

The *Rajatarangini* is thus a solidly informed historical work, although, for the ancient period, mythological or legendary stories supplement the historical information. That is what his sources gave him, and despite his efforts to be critical, he could not reject everything which was normally accepted in his day. His work, moreover, was intended to be more than a chronicle : it was a composition conforming to the rules of learned poetry, in which the prevailing sentiment was the allaying of the passions (santarasa) such as would be taught by the spectacle of the vicissitudes of fortune. As a historian Kalhana wanted to be truthful ; as a poet and moralist he could accept legend.

Analysis of the Rajatarangini

§ 21. According to Kalhana's poem, Kashmir was originally a lake which was transformed into dry land by the Prajapati Kashyapa. It was protected and inhabited by the Nagas, mythical serpents whom some have proposed to regard as tribes having the serpent as their totem, and who in any case played a great part in Indian legend. Gauri, the wife of Siva, made herself manifest there in the form of the river Vitasta. The goddess Saraswati or Sarada, the patroness of literature, lived there. The names of the early kings are forgotten for the most part, but a certain Gonanda I began to reign at the moment of the great Bharata war. The date ascribed to this event is 653 of the Kali age, *i.e.* 2,449 B.C. This serves as the point of origin for Kalhana's chronology, but he does not name a regular succession of kings until after Gonanda III, whom he places at 1882 B.C. Between these two dates he gives quite a number of kings, but without precise dates. Asoka and the Kushana are numbered among them, and the latter is placed only 150 years from the death of the Buddha. He says of Asoka that he was converted to Buddhism, and places him between the Buddha and the Kushana. Thus the Buddha, Asoka and the Kushana are placed chronologically in the correct order but within a period which is far too short and placed far too high. Thus later on Kalhana is compelled to prolong reigns to the point of impossibility in order to bring his synchronisms into line.

The first book treates of the dynasty of Gonanda I, and the second of a dynasty of different origin. In the third book the Gonanda dynasty appears restored. But in an interregnum there occurs the government of a poet, Matrigupta, a vassal of the king of Ujjayini, Vikramaditya Harsha. Kalhana identifies this king with the Vikramaditya who, according to tradition, defeated the Saka invaders and founded the Saka era in 78 A.D. But the fifth successor of Matrigupta lived at the beginning of the VI century, and Kalhana or one of his sources has filled up the gap by attributing to the reign of a certain Ranaditya a length of 300 years. In fact, according to the information of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-tsang, the Vikramaditya in question lived at the beginning of the VI century and had nothing to do with the Saka era.

For later times the chronological errors become less frequent and less serious. In the fourth book appears a dynasty the origin of which is traced to a mythical serpent

named Karkota, but its history, so far as Kalhana traces it, is corrobobrated to some extent by other documents which we possess, especially the Chinese sources. Kalhana's dates are only 25 years late according to those given by the most trustworthy of the Chinese sources. From the beginning of the fourth book (the XI century of our era) Kalhana names his dates according to the *Laukika* era or that of the *Saptarshi,* generally in use in Kashmir, and from this time on his sources furnish him with a correct and continuous chronology.

The fifth book contains the history of the dynasty of Utpala (855 to 939), the sixth that of a succession of kings of various houses (939-1,003), the seventh and eighth those of a first and a second dynasty deriving from Lohara. These last two books are distinguished from the others by being of twice the normal length, possibly because they cover periods for which there was abundant information.

Supplements to the Rajatarangini

§ 22. Kalhana's work was continued. A second *Rajatarangini,* by Jonaraja, who died in 1459, serves as a supplement, bringing the story down nearly that date ; and Shrivara, a disciple of Jonaraja, continued it in his *Jaina rajatarangini,* to 1486. Finally a *Rajavali pataka* by Prajyabhatta and his disciple Shuka relates the history of Kashmir down to a point soon after its conquest by the Mughal Emperor Akbar in 1586.

Biographical Poems and Romances in Sanskrit

§ 23. Except in Kashmir chronicles are rare, at least in Sanskrit. However, there exist numerous panegyrics of saints and of kings which are primarily literary works, but in a certain degree, and subject to strict precautions, may take the place of the historical texts which we lack.

A model of this type is the *Buddhacharita,* "Life of the Buddha", of Ashvaghosha, which dates from the time of the Indo-Scythian king Kanishka. It is one of the most beautiful poems ever written in India, but the faithfulness of the biography which it narrates must be regarded with caution. It is true that it has not been deliberately altered, and has been embellished only as regards its form. But the personality of the Buddha had already entered the realm of legend, and it is this legend which the poem has piously and magnificently preserved. Thus we can only regard the *Buddhacharita* as an ancient and brilliant specimen of the class of legendary lives.

Harshacharita

§ 24. Harshacharita, the "Life of Harshavardhana", emperor of northern India from 606 to 648, by Bana, who lived at his court, is in prose with some admixture of verse of an extraordinary refinement of rhetoric. In this instances the hero is definitely known, but the historical value of the work lies in the text itself than in its agreement with other sources, especially with the facts given by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-tsang, who was received with honour by Harsha. Most texts of the type of the *Harshacharita* are useful indeed, mainly as confirming facts otherwise known. It is generally true of the Indian sources that they serve to corroborate foreign sources and to be correborated by them, but not by themselves to establish a reliable and continuous history.

Panegyrics

§ 25. Panegyrics, written in praise of an eminent man, a king, or even of a dynasty, deal only with local or provincial history, and only for limited periods. They are more or less numerous for each region. Although for Orissa, for example, we know hardly more than the *Ganga vamshanucharita* by Vasudevaratha Somayajin, composed between the X and the XIV centuries, we possess a great number for the area of Gujarat, Malva and Rajasthan.

Among the Gurjara dynasties of the north, the Chahumana (Chauhana) have been celebrated especially in the *Prithivirajavijaya,* the "Triumph of King Prithivi" (died 1193), which was commented on in the XV century by the Jonaraja who continued the work of Kalhana. Among the Gurjara dynasties of the south, the Paramara were glorified about 1005 by Padmagupta in his *Navasahasanka charita,* a panegyric on the Paramara Sindhuraja, whose *viruda* or honorific title was Navasahasanka. The Chalukya dynasty above all has been made famous by a number of authors. Hemachandra composed after 1163, in Prakrit and in Sanskrit, his *Dvyashraya mahakvya,* "Long Poem with Two Purposes", of which the last eight in Prakrit constitute the *Kumarapala charita* to the glory of the author's patron, Kumarapala of Anhilvad. This work is a tour de force, a feat of ingenuity ; it is said to have "two purposes" because at the same time as it sings the glories of a dynasty it illustrates the grammar of Hemchandra himself, in Sanskrit for the Sanskrit part of the grammar, and in Prakrit (in the *Kumarapalacharita*) for the Prakrit part. Later Jayasimha in 1363, and Jinamandana in 1435, also each composed a *Kumarapalacharita.*

The subject of a celebrated poem became a classical subject, and the pandits thenceforth exerted themselves to treat of it even when it no longer had any immediate interest, and incidentally added less new information than new rhetorical ornaments. Kumarapala was converted by Hemchandra to Jainism, and it was the protection which he then extended to that religion which caused him to be thus held up as an example to posterity.

Other kings, ministers and even rich and generous individuals were also celebrated as benefactors of the Jain church. *Kirti kaumudi,* "Moonlight of Glory", by Someshwaradeva (1179-1262), *Sukrita samkirtana,* "Glorification of Good Deeds" by Arisimha at the end of the XIII century, and *Vastupala charita* of Harshagani (1440) are dedicated to Vastupala, a minister of the Vaghela branch of the Chalukyas of Anhilvad. The same Vastupala and another minister Tejahpala were celebrated together in the XIII century in *Vastupala tejahpala prashasti,* "Praise of Vastupala and Tejahpala", and *Sukrita kirti kallolini,* "River of the Glory of Good Deeds". In honour of the pious Gujerati merchant Jagadu, Sarvananda in the XIV century wrote *Jagadu charita.* But the poets did not sing only their patrons and the benefactors of their sects : the epic and sometimes savage heroism of the Rajputs also inspired them. *Hammira mahakavya* of Nayachandrasuri, in the XV century, exalts the great deeds of the last king of Ranthambor in his unhappy struggle against Sultan Ala-ud-din. But the majority of biographical poems are due to poets of the court or of the monastery.

Court poets sometimes left their country to search out a king who was a patron of letters. The Kashmiri Bilhana wrote between 1081 and 1089, at the court of Vikramaditya IV, a Chalukya king of Kalyana in the Deccan, his *Vikramanka deva charita* (or *Vikramarkadevacharita :* Vikramarka = Vikramaditya), one of the best of the biographical poems, which deals also with Vikramaditya's two predecessors, Somesvara I and II.

§ 26. We have in the Prakrit and in the vernaculars, especially Hindi, a number of biographies of sovereigns or eminent persons of Gujerat, Malva, Rajasthan and Bundelkhand. In the east, for Bengal, there are also works of the same type, some in Sanskrit, others in the vernacular. Among those in Sanskrit are *Ramapala charita* (Ramacharita) by Sandhyakara nandin of the end of XI century, and *Ballala* charita by Anandabhatta of the XVI century.

Elesewhere, especially in the south, biographical tales and poems are generally in the vernacular and not in either

Sanskrit or Prakrit. This style of literary composition is hardly represented in Sanskrit except in the northern half of the country, and especially in the north-west and west. This is the outcome of a number of causes. Panegyrics were composed everywhere, but they could not be habitually written in Sanskrit except where Sanskrit was the prevailing literary language. This was not the case in the south, where the Dravidian languages, especially Tamil, had their own literatures with which Sanskrit never competed successfully. Further we have seen that the earliest biographical poem known is the "Life of the Buddha" of Ashvaghosha. Now the Jains, like the Buddhists, established the practice at an early date of recounting the lives of their founder and their saints, and it is in the Jain centre, viz Gujerat, and the neighbouring provinces, that we find a particularly large number of biographical poems. The Buddhist and Jain works seem to have served as prototypes of the secular historical or biographical poem, and these works were at first composed for the most part in the literary language which these religious bodies had cultivated : Sanskrit under the influence of the Buddhists in the north-west and central India, Sanskrit and Prakrit following the Jains of the west, Singhalese and Pali among the Buddhists of Ceylon. Moreover the regions of the north-west and west which had produced the most brilliant religious prototypes in Sanskrit and Prakrit for the secular biography were precisely the privileged lands of the Sanskrit literary culture ; it is natural that such biographies should be composed above all there and above all in Sanskrit.

Prakrit and Vernacular Historical Texts

General

§ 27. The legendary biographies in Prakrit of the Jain masters stimulated the composition of biographies of sovereigns and benefactors, but they were not always the immediate models. Prakrit poems with a historical content are generally composed in Maharashtri, not in the specifically Jain Prakrits. The most important of these is the *Gauda vaho,* "The Murder of the Bengali (King)", by Bappairaa (Skt. Vakpati raja). It is a romanticised history of the conquest of Bengal by Yasho varman of Kanyakubja. The date of this king is not indicated in the poem, but according to the Chinese annals of the T'ang dynasty he sent an embassador to China in 731, and the Raja-tarangini tells us that Vakpatiraja was a poet at his court, and that he was defeated by Lalitaditya Muktapida of Kashmir.

Thus with this help we can place the facts of the *Gaudavaho* into the framework of history.

Hindi Historical Poems

§ 28. Biography and history were a flourishing branch of Hindi literature. The *Prithiraj Rasau* of Chand is the best known : it is the earliest monument of the Braja dialect. The poet and his hero, Prithiraj of the Chahamana dynasty of the northern Gurjaras, are said to have perished together in 1192 at the hands of the Muslims. We have mentioned above a Sanskrit poem devoted to the same king, but the Hindi composition is very much better known. A *Hammir Rasau* forms a supplement to the *Hammira mahakavya*. The *Padmavati* of Jaisi glorifies the queen of Chitor who perished in the flames in 1303 rather than fall into the hands of Sultan Alau-d-din. A number of other texts of the same type supplied the material for James Tod (from 1829) to reconstruct the history of Rajputana. It is true that these texts contain a large number of errors, and provide an anecdotal history rather than a chronicle of events. However, they often contain valuable dynastic lists. Also, where they sing the exploits of the Rajputs in their struggles against the Muslims, they can be usefully compared with the Muslim stories about the same events.

The Vamshavalis

§ 29. In addition to literary eulogies of sovereigns, the vernaculars have often produced *Vamshavalis* or "genealogical lists", which set forth the origins of royal families and also contain useful facts from their histories. In many cases they derived their material from similar ancient Sanskrit documents, which have rarely been preserved. The shorter genealogical lists are often placed at the head of inscriptions. They are found most commonly in the northern countries, Chamba, Kuluta and Nepal, where they may exist in two editions, the one Buddhistic, the other Brahmanic.

A number of similar documents exist elsewhere, but often inserted in bigger compilations or in works which are not otherwise devoted to history.

Historical Data from Religious, Literary and Scientific Texts

The authors of the chronicles and biographies which we have noticed too often show more literary art than historical sense. On the other hand many texts which are not specially

intended to narrate history actually supply it with confirmations and additions.

Religious Texts

§ 30. Two of the great religions of India are distinguished clearly from the others by the fact that the personality of their founders has a special importance for them. There would have been no Buddhism or Jainism without the Buddha and the Jina. The Vedic Rishis, the fathers of ancient Brahmanism, are on the other hand merely names. These names are piously preserved : texts like the *Brihadaranyaka-upanishad* contain even *vamsha,* spiritual "genealogies", lists of teachers who have successively transmitted the doctrine of the school, and these lists are given as a guarantee of the continuity of the tradition from Brahman ; but Brahman is the transcendent Being, and it is inconceivable that He should have a biography. The Buddha and the Jina, on the other hand, lived and taught among men, they were teachers by their words and models in their lives, and it is therefore essential to the religious bodies which they established to preserve at the same time the tenor of their discourses and the memory of their acts. Buddhist and Jain literatrue was not only didactic like the Brahmanic literature : they also had to make it edifying. Hence it became a narrative literature, giving as examples not only the lives of the founders but also those of their teachers and saints. It is true that editors have often piously transmuted history into "golden legends", but the marvels which they relate remain in many cases associated with the memory of real events, and if hagiography is not history, it does not fail to furnish valuable synchronisms. Great care is necessary in making use of such sources. They are often self-contradictory, and we have to choose between irreconcilable statements, not always possessing independent evidence which confirms the one and refutes the other. We are often confined to internal criticism of our documents, and in the absence of complete certainty this criticism often gives us reasonable probabilities.

Buddhist Texts

§ 31. The Buddhist texts usually tell us that in the time of the Buddha King Bimbisara reigned over Magadha, and his brother-in-law Prasenajit over Kosala. They give us many circumstantial details about them. Bimbisara was murdered by his son Ajatashatru, who ascended the throne in his place.

Prasenajit waged war against Ajatashatru, at first without and later with success. Dethroned in turn by his own son, Prasenajit took refuge with Ajatashatru, and there died. All this, with many other facts, is narrated less for the interest of the events in themselves than in order to make clear on which occasions the Buddha gave such or such teaching to these kings. Some sources assert that Bimbisara and Prasenajit, as well as several other princes, were born at the same time as the Buddha. Another *Asokavadana,* the "Legend of Asoka", on the other hand, gives a genealogy which makes Prasenajit the descendant of Bimbisara in the eighth generation. We have no independent confirmation of either of these irreconcilable statements, but a simple comparison of the sources leads us first to reject the statement of *Asokavadana,* and secondly to doubt the contemporaneity of the births of the Buddha, Bimbisara and Prasenajit. *Asokavadana* gives us in effect no more than a dry genealogical list : there an error can easily have crept in. If however this list were correct, it would follow that a whole body of coherent stories is false, for a simple error could not explain how a remote descendant of Bimbisara the king of Magadha was made to figure as his contemporary the king of Kosala, or how this whole story of his relations with the Magadha dynasty came to be told. It is true that the supposition might be made that *Asokavadana* speaks of another Prasenajit, but there is no positive reason to support this hypothesis. It is probable that the more numerous and more circumstantial sources contain more truth than the mere summary and aberrant source. Thus the Buddha, Bimbisara and Prasenajit must have been contemporaries. On the other hand it is difficult to accept the tradition which represents them as born at precisely the same moment as well as sovereigns of neighbouring kingdoms. We guess that the coincidence of their births was put forward to associate one more miracle with the already miraculous birth of the Buddha.

Data from Religious History

§ 32. We see from this example that if the Buddhist sources give us information on the events of political history, they are nevertheless most informative on religious history. They constantly betray their anxiety to affirm the fidelity with which they transmit the teaching of the Master. In stating each disciplinary precept, in repeating each discourse of the Buddha, the Scriptures carefully note the *nidana,* the "occasion", on which this precept was laid down or this discourse was pronounced. Moreover, the editors of canonical collections were

careful to state how their collections were authenticated by the great doctors assembled in councils. The last two chapters of *Chulavagga,* the disciplinary (*vinaya*) text of the Pali canon, describe the first two councils which were held, the one immediately after the death of the Buddha, and the other a hundred years later. These two historical chapters are generally considered to have been added much later to this work on discipline. Other parts of the Pali cannon relate the early events, the beginning of the Buddha's mission (the introduction to *Mahavagga*) or his death (*Mahaparinibbanasutta*). By putting these scraps together we can obtain a relatively connected chronicle of the early period of Buddhism.

Historical Texts in the Pali Canon

§ 33. Finot put forward the hypothesis that this chronicle had an early existence but was cut to pieces to be inserted in various places in the canon. In that case we should have in a religious canon the remains of a truly historical ancient source. It must be noticed that this work would have to be anterior not only to the Pali canon in its present form, but also to the formation of the canons of the various Buddhist sects. Its disintegration and the adding on of its parts to the various specified sections of the canons would go back to the period of the compilation of these canons. In fact it is not only in the Pali canon that the history of the councils is attached to the section on discipline ; this occurs also in *Mahavastu,* which is the book on discipline of the Lokottaravadin, and in the section devoted to discipline of the canon of the Mulasarvastivadin, which has been preserved in Tibetan though the Sanskrit version is lost. In this last canon those parts which correspond to the other elements of the supposed chronicle are inserted precisely in the same places as they occupy in the Pali canon. The story of the beginning of the Buddha's mission is also in the section on discipline. A *Mahaparinirvanasutta,* which is an appendix to the Pali *Mahaparinibbanasutta,* is, like the Pali text, in the section devoted to doctrinal exposition (*sutra*). It cannot be by chance that equivalent passages are extracted in the same manner to be used in similar ways. The same division of the same chronicle must be the basis of the composition of at least two different canons. However, the agreement between the accounts of the same events in the two canons is far from close, and if they derive from the same original chronicle we have to assume great alterations subsequently to account for the divergencies. What is most probable is that at the time when the canons were drawn

up, the idea was commonly held by Buddhists that certain traditional stories were associated with certain types of texts more naturally than with others. The story of the beginning of the mission which led to the foundation of the community of monks, and that of the councils, which were the first acts of this community, were not out of place among the texts which laid down the duties of the community and of the monks. The story of the death of the Master could for its part find a proper place among the edifying teachings. Admitting this, still each canon could give its own versions of the various stories. It is not necessary to assume the prior existence of a genuinely historical work with which the canons agreed in placing together certain apparently dissimilar passages in certain ways, but did not agree in reproducing the purport of those passages. It is true that in the section on discipline of the canon of the Mulasarvasti vadin a narration of the death of the Buddha precedes an account of the councils, but this fact is adequately explained by the real sequence of the events and does not imply the existence of a chronicle from which these passages derive.

Historical Value of the Pali Sources

§ 34. Thus it is to be feared that the historical data from the Buddhist canons rest on floating traditions rather than on a historical account drawn up at an early date. Reacting against the excessive confidence reposed by some authors in the statements of the Pali canon relating to the life of the Buddha, Senart has shown that the "legend" of the Buddha does not rest solely on real historical facts but has borrowed many details from the mythical conception of the universal sovereign, the chakravartin. It is therefore difficult to trust the apparently historical statements of the Pali Buddhist texts. However, many of these statements could not have been invented for purposes of edification, and can only correspond to memories of real facts.

The Mahayana Historical Texts

§ 35. The Buddhist texts of the "Great Vehicle", the Mahayana, are too full of legends to be of direct historical value. *Lalita vistara,* the celebrated life of the Buddha, is before everything else a description of the miracles which marked his life. *Lankavatara sutra* says that the Buddha imparted his teaching in Lanka (Ceylon) to king Ravana, but Ravana is a mythical being, and none of the sources whose information can be checked speaks of a journey of the Buddha to Ceylon. How-

ever, *Lankavatara* and other texts such as *Karuna pundarika sutra* contain under the form of prophecies information which is historically probable. It is also generally under the form of prophecies that real events are narrated in some rather late texts, particularly the Tantras, the "Books" par excellence. These compositions are compendia of all knowledge reputed to be efficacious, principally mystico-magical, but they eventually admitted facts of all kinds. *Kala chakra tantra* is of this kind. In *Manjushri mulakalpa,* related to this class of works, the Buddha himself, after summarising the main features of his teaching, predicts the future succession of kings down to the Vth century of our era. The passage contains a little over 1000 couplets. The statements contained in it agree with those from other historical sources well enough to give us some confidence in its information on periods about which we are otherwise ill informed. It is especially valuable on the Maurya and Gupta dynasties and on those of central India, Magadha and Bengal. It hardly mentions the south, but knows Tibet and China.

Jaina Texts

§ 36. What is true of the Buddhist texts from the point of view of historical interest is true also of the Jain texts. The canon of the Svetambara in Ardhamagadhi Prakrit has preserved a good deal of probably correct information on the life of the Jina, mixed with legendary and edifying material.

Among the *amga,* the "members" of the canon, *Ayaramga sutta* and *Bhagavati* are those which contain the most information. *Uvasagadasao* and *Anuttaro vavaiya dasao* are full of legends, some of which refer to real people and facts. Among the *uvamga,* the "sub-members" of the canon, *Ovavaiyam* introduces the King Kuniya, who is the Ajatashatru of the Buddhists, for he is the son of Seniya (Skt. Shrenika) who is Bimbisara ; and *Kappiyao* and *Kappavadamsiyao* narrate the stories of the son and of the grandson of Seniya respectively. *Rayapaseniyam* seems, from its title, to make reference to king Prasenajit. These kings were contemporaries of the Jina, and since according to the Buddhist sources they were contemporaries of the Buddha also, the two masters who gave their names to the two great Indian religions with human founders must have lived at the same time.

This synchronism, confirmed by the Buddhist sources, which know of a rival to the Buddha who is somewhat older and is identifiable as the Jina Mahavira, is of great importance. Unhappily the Buddhist and Jain religious bodies have been

rivals also, and each desiring what the other had highly treasured, they have often borrowed from each other. A very popular Jain text, *Kalpa sutra,* attributed to Bhadrabahu, contains *Jinacharita,* a life of the Jinas, principally of Mahavira, which shows many analogies with the life of the Buddha as narrated in *Buddha charita.* Bhadrabahu probably lived in the second century after Mahavira, but the *Kalpa sutra* as we have it also contains *Thera vali* which gives lives of the patriarchs of the sect long after Bhadrabahu's time, down to about 980 years after the death of Mahavira. Thus the present text is later than *Buddha charita,* and if there has been any borrowing, it is by *Jinacharita.* However, it is possible that the borrowing was from one legend to the other rather than from one text to the other ; the two "lives" may have been written independently, but from data which had been delicately unified. It is hardly probable, indeed, although the Buddha and the Jina lived and preached in the same surroundings and at the same time, that their careers should have been so exactly parallel as a comparison of their biographies would lead us to believe. Where the miraculous elements are in agreement, we are in any case compelled to conclude that the editors either copies one from the other or copied a common model which was other than the reality.

Mythical Elements in the Biographies

§ 37. Biographies of celebrated persons among the Jains are often only mythological legends. The life of Krishna, the hero whom the Bhagavata sect have made into the supreme deity, is mythological in its development, even if one admits that it may have arisen from a historical foundation. The life of Krishna becomes in *Anuttaro vavaiya dasao* the story of Kanha, a poius Jain sovereign. In this case we are in no danger of taking the story as historical, since the legend of Krishna is well-known. But in some of the humanised versions of this story we might have been induced to think we had discovered reminiscences of real facts. We should have to cut away relatively little of the marvellous from the adventures of Jivandhara, which are popular among the Jains, to make a plausible story from them. However, when these adventures are examined closely we cannot fail to recognise once again those of Krishna, now freed from the marvellous element. Like Krishna, Jivandhara, the heir to the throne, is threatened by a tyrant with death as soon as he is born. He has an adoptive mother, Nanda, just as Krishna has an adoptive father, Nanda. Like Krishna he has boundless courage and skill, and all the girls

love him. Like Krishna he overthrows and kills the tyrant. But his story is a means of expounding the Jain religion, and at the end he becomes a monk. It might have been thought that we have here a historical defender of the Jain religious bodies, but he is merely a legendary figure, a Krishna, reduced to the historical scale. It is to be feared that the same is the case with other heroes of pious legends.

However, we have seen (§§ 24-26) that certain *charita* (lives) contain authentic narratives. In addition to those cited there are others, similar to these but more properly religious. This is the case with *Kalakacharya kathanaka,* which gives chronological information on the invasions of the Saka (see § 238). It is also the case with *Trisasti chalaka purusa charita,* "Lives of the 63 numbered Men", by Hemachandra (XIIth century); in addition to a purely legendary Jain *Ramayana,* there is a life of the Jina, *Mahaviracharita,* which narrates in the form of prophecy the events of the reign of Kumarapala, the patron of the author, who as we know (§ 25) wrote a poem in his honour; and more especially *Parishishta parvan,* or *Sthaviravali charita,* containing some biographies of saints and important chronological facts (see §§ 183, 202).

§ 38. Another group of Jain literary compositions, the *prabandha,* also contain historical facts, mixed up with an ocean of legend. Many were compiled from certain well-known collections, *Prabandha chintamani,* "Talisman of Prabandhas", assembled by Merutunga in 1306 A.D. and *Prabandha kosha,* "Treasury of Prabandhas", by Rajashekhara in 1349 A.D. All these texts are of special value when they report political events not far removed from their own time. For earlier times, edifying stories too often take the place of the forgotten facts.

The history of the Jain religious body is better distributed. We have many *theravali,* "lists of ancients", and *pattavali,* "lists (drawn from) archives", which inform us of the succession of masters and saints, and whose truthfulness is often confirmed by ancient inscriptions. These valuable documents are more oten to be found among the Jains than among the Buddhists, since Jainism has survived in India while Buddhism has died out. Buddhist equivalents of these documents are hardly found except in Ceylon, Indo-China, Tibet and China.

Brahmanic and Hindu Texts

§ 39. Though the Vedic and Brahmanic texts are not in any sense historical, they are not without value for history.

We learn incidentally from the *Rigveda* a fact of the greatest importance : the invasion of India by the Aryans. This fundamental fact remains intermediate, yet it is well established. A system of fairly plausible conjectures enables us to fix its date very broadly, and a comparison of the indications provided by the texts of successive epochs enables us to guess its successive stages.

The arrangement of the texts in their probable order of composition, and estimates of the time which must have passed between one group and the next, enable us to calculate approximately the period of the most ancient hymns, and consequently of the Aryan invasion, which was then recent and in fact still incomplete. The geographical names mentioned can often be identified with some certainty, and the geography of each of the successive groups of texts enables us to follow the progress of the Aryans from the Indus basin to that of the Ganges in the classical period, when the Laws of Manu (ii 17-22) lay down the boundaries of the Brahmanical culture.

Some historical facts of a more particular character are alluded to in the *Rigveda,* such as the capture of towns from the aborigines, the Dasyu, by the Aryan conquerors, followers of Indra, and more particularly by Sudas, king of the Bharata, and the coalition of ten kings against Sudas (if the passage VII, 83, 8 is not to be given a mythological interpretation). There is even a short genealogy of Sudas (VII, 18, 22-23). The more recent sources, the secondary Vedic samhitas and the Brahmanas, place before us more and more persons, real to all appearance, and especially tribes, in particular the Kuru and the Panchala. The names of the kings mentioned occur again in the later Hindu legends, but not in the historical sources previously dealt with, which are mainly Jain and Buddhist. This fact does not throw doubt on their authenticity : it only emphasises that our sources, the Brahmanical on the one hand, and the Jain and Buddhist on the other, come down from different periods.. True, an Ajatashatru appears in a late Vedic text, *Brihadaranyakopanishad* as in the Buddhist stories, but this latter makes him a king of Magadha, while the Upanishad represents him as a king of Kashi (Banaras) ; there may have been two kings of the same name, though the date of the Upanishad could possibly be brought down to a point a little after the date of the Ajatashatru of the Buddhists.

The Puranas

§ 40. In the post-Vedic Sanskrit literature we should have expected to find more and more historical facts confirmed

from other sources as we came nearer to the more recent period. The mass of information on people and kings increases, but the preoccupations of the authors seem to be less and less with the recording of events. They neglect recent and contemporary facts in favour of legends which have the prestige of antiquity or of myth. The Puranas abound in dynastic lists and other indications of historical facts. The origin of these lists is ancient, since Megasthenes, at the end of the IVth century B.C., knew of them. Unhappily great alterations have been made in these lists, and their discrepancies are so great as to discredit them. In spite of that we are often tempted to try to use this great mass of facts, for we can be sure that everything in the Puranas is not unhistorical. We do in fact notice, occasionally, statements in agreement with facts otherwise established. However, we possess no criterion whereby to distinguish a priori the true facts from the false. We can find facts there when we know them, but we cannot find them without outside help. Even where the statements of the various Puranas are in agreement, their authenticity remains doubtful, because their agreement only proves that the different versions derive from the same tradition, but nothing in the Puranas themselves guarantees the value of that tradition. If there is any guarantee, it is external to them. However, it should not be forgotten that it was *Bhagavatapurana* which first gave us the name of Chandragupta Maurya which, identified by de Guignes with the Sandrakottos of the Greeks, is the king from whose reign the whole chronology of ancient India is derived. But the chronological data of the Puranas are not to be despised. They often give us intervals between kings or dynasties which are reasonable and probably exact. But the absolute chronology of the Puranas, which is often inconsistent with their own relative chronology, must be rejected. It rests, in fact, on the date of the beginning of the present astronomical age, a date placed at the end of the Mahabharat war, and later calculated by the astronomers.

The Secondary Puranas

§ 41. These remarks apply primarily to the principal Puranas. The secondary, local Puranas, and the literature of the *mahatmya* or *sthalapurana* which from part of them or are attached to them, are relatively rich in utilisable material. They are intended to exalt the religious interest of holy places, and with this purpose they give a great deal of geographical material often difficult to place on the map but none the less

acceptible in the storehouse of history. They relate or allude to many facts, and where these are not too remote, they may rank as historical sources. *Nilamatapurana* is one of the sources of *Rajatarangini* (§ 19). *Halasya mahatmya,* and its Tamil counterpart, *Tiruvileiyadarpuranas,* by Paranjodimunivar, (see § 907) derive from a more ancient Tamil source, also called the *Tiruvileiyadarpuranam,* due to Perumbarrappuliyur Nambi (Xth-XIth century). These three texts describe the "sport" of Siva, protector of Madurei, the capital of the Tamil kingdom of the Pandya. The Pandya kings played a great part in these legendary exploits, so much so that Siva incarnated in the form of one of them.

It is thus that Siva appeared to reward the devotion of Malayadhvaja Pandya, who had no child, with a little daughter who became queen and whom the same Siva married in order to reign under the name Sundarapandyan. This legend may be an echo of one which Megasthenes reports (Arrian VIII-IX) concerning a certain queen Pandaia, daughter and wife of Herakles. The *mahatmya* of Madurei may thus derive from ancient material, which however would be none the less legendary. Despite that, for relatively recent times a number of kings are mentioned who may very well be historical.

Many texts of this kind unfortunately are poor in references to kings and confine themselves to pious legends about sacred places, religious foundations and miracles. Such for example is *Kashikhanda,* "Section on Banaras", which is supposed to form part of the *Skandapurana.*

§ 42. Certain legends allow us to guess at important general historical facts. It appears from the *Ramayana* that Rama had been preceeded in his march across south India towards Lanka by a number of Brahmans, forest recluses, and in particular by Agastya. It is possible that Agastya is not a real person, but it is to him that Tamil tradition attributes the first beginnings of all knowledge, and it declares that he came from the north. Thus these legends confirm each other, and if we accept them we conclude that the influence of the north on the south was at first peaceful, that it was cultural before becoming political, that Brahmanism was not brought in by conquerors but propagated itself by the prestige of the knowledge which it cultivated. This historical fact, which has no date but is of general importance for Indian history, is further corroborated by observation of the progress which the Brahmanical culture is still making in a peaceful way among the semi-civilised tribes of India (Lyall).

Apart from such general indications, the Brahmanical and Hindu texts provide history with scattered details particularly on the life of sects, the transmission of traditions, and the lives of holy men. Biographies would be especially valuable; unfortunately they are rarer than in Buddhism and Jainism. They are also mostly more recent, and consequently written in modern languages more often than in Sanskrit.

Literary Texts

§ 43. Casual allusions to historical persons and facts are not uncommon in literature, even apart from biographical works. Several cycles of story or legend have for heroes, kings like Vikramaditya and Udayana. It is however impossible to accept what they tell us. The only positive conclusion to be drawn is the probable existence at an intermediate date of kings bearing these names. Some works like the *Bhoja prabandha* by Ballala, of the end of the XVIth century, which resemble the biographical romances previously mentioned, contain historical data, but are full of anachronisms and fanciful material.

The Theatre

§ 44. The threatre, which often brings human heroes on to the stage, is a historical source which is sometimes useful, if only secondary. *Malavikagnimitra* of Kalidasa gives useful facts about the Shunga. *Mudra rakshasa* has for its principal character Chanakya, the Indian Machiavelli, who placed Chandragupta Maurya on the thone, and to whom is attributed the famous political treatise, *Arthashastra*. The work is however too remote from the events to be of any great value. Undoubtedly less imaginative is *Prabodha chandradaya,* written for the Chandela king of Bundelkhand, Kirtivarman (1050-1116), which refers to the general and minister Gopala. Similar are *Maharaja parajaya* on Kumarapala of Anhilvad, *Hammira-madamadana,* by Jaya simha suri (1230), on Hammira of Ranthambor, and *Chaitanyachandrodaya* on Chaitanya. Finally some dramas written in praise of various kings have been engraved on stone like laudatory inscriptions. *Lalita vigraha-raja* by Somadeva praises Vigraharaja IV of Ajmer, and to the same prince is attributed *Hara keli nataka* (1153). *Parijata man jari* by Madana (1213) in praise of Arjunavarman is thus engraved at Dhara.

Tamil Texts

§ 45. These Sanskrit literary works yield first place as regards historical interest to a series of Tamil texts, those attri-

buted to the Third *Sangam* or "academic group" of Madurei. These texts are collections of poems on secular subjects originally written at various dates, for the most part between the middle of the Ist century before our era and the first centuries after. The chief among them are *Purananuru,* "400 Poems on Exploits", *Agana nuru,* the "400 Poems on the Sentiments", *Narrinei,* "Good Taste", and the *Kurundogeina nuru,* "400 short groups of verses".

§ 46. These poems are often accompanied by terminal notes giving information about their authors and their dates of composition. Broadly they constitute a court literature written as the occasion demanded, and they contain many allusions to kings and to current events. Knowing the authors, and knowing which is father of one and son of another, we can establish their order of succession and at the same time that of the kings whom they are addressed to. The allusions to other contemporary sovereigns provide synchronisms which have enabled K. N. Sivaraja Pillai to draw up synchronous dynastic tables of the three dynasties of the Pandya, the Chola and the Chera for ten generations. The same author has related this group of relative dates to general chronology by remarking that according to the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* the region of Nelkynda (in Travancore) belonged to the Pandya. Now a Pandya, Pasumpun, alias Nedunsheliyan III, conquered this region. If the facts given in the *Periplus* date from about 70 A.D. (at that time Pliny gives similar information independently), the conquest must be earlier that that. On the other hand, it cannot be much earlier. In fact Travancore must have been conquered by Pasumpun from the Ayi princes, and according to Ptolemy, about 140, Nelkynda (spelt differently) was under the *Aioi,* which must be the Ayi. Since the name of these princes was still used to designate their country, either the memory of their effective rule was still recent, or their house was still ruling as a vassal of the Pandya ; thus it is unlikely that much time had passed since their defeat. Pasumpun thus can be placed probably about 50 A.D. Thence, allowing 25 years for the average period of a generation, the chronology of the kings mentioned in the Sangam poems can be re-established.

§ 47. Other attempts at historical reconstruction have been made, using in addition to the data from the poems mentioned, those from similar collections or from more recent works. All these attempts run up against two great difficulties ; the uncertainty of the relative chronology of the sources, and the

obscurity of the allusions, the persons often being mentioned under varying names, the identities of which are sometimes very difficult to establish.

Other Documents

Scientific and Technical Works

§ 48. Scientific and technical texts sometimes incidentally give indications of historical interest, and in particular reveal connections of India with other countries. The attempt has been made to date Panini's grammar and the *Mahabhashya* from the content of certain passages, which allude to events of known date. But it is above all the astronomical books which are useful for historical purposes, since they give the key to the interpretation of certain dates. Unfortunately they have falsified a part of chronology by calculating epochs without taking account of historical facts. Some have tried to utilise the astronomical data in the Vedic calendar, together with the data of the hymns, to date the *Rigveda* (see § 344). The astronomical *Samhita* of Garga contains a brief historical exposition in the form of prophecy, the *Yuga-purana* (§ 227).

State Archives

§ 49. The preservation of archives was not unknown in ancient India : the governments of great empires like that of Asoka could hardly manage without keeping a great mass of written material. In any case, at a later date, the name which designated the archives, viz. *akshapatala,* is mentioned in the *Rajatrangini.* We find also *akshapatalika* and *akshashalin* as names for the archivist. Indianised central Asia has actually left archives, which are on wood (the Prakrit documents of Niya) or on paper (the accounts of a convent at Kucha, and some Tibetan pieces), but India proper has not yielded any ancient ones. It is only in modern times that they have been preserved, and mostly by the efforts of Europeans. Apart from isolated documents, they have preserved collections of material received from Indian governments, such as the Picot collection formed at Mahe at the end of the XVIIIth century (mostly in Malayalam and Hindustani). Thus these documents are of use mainly for the history of the relations of Europeans with India. Even from this point of view, they have not yet been sufficiently utilised. An Imperial Record Office has recently been established at Delhi for the preservation of archives.

Data from the Preambles and Colophons of Manuscripts

§ 50. We must give a special place to the often valuable information furnished by the introductions and colophons of many Indian works. Before embarking upon his subject, an Indian author will often make remarks about the composition of his work, the sovereign who patronised him, his predecessors and the masters who inspired him. This enables us to place one work in relation to others in time, and often in relation to the events or the persons mentioned. In the south, among the Tamils, the rule was that the introduction giving such details should be composed not by the author of the text but by somebody else. If this somebody else is a contemporary of the author the historical value of his statements remains the same, but if he is a later commentator it becomes problematical.

We have noticed the importance of the colophons of certain Tamil works (§ 46), but those of other Indian manuscripts are no less valuable. In addition to the name of the work and of its author, they often give the name of the author's father and that of the king at the time. Further the copyist often adds facts about himself, his family, his school, and the person for whom the copy was made, and also the place and date. More rarely manuscripts bear a dated and circumstantial account of a ceremonial reading of the work. A number of kings, in particular those of Nepal, are dated only from the colophons of such manuscripts. There are some kings who are not known except from the colophons of undated texts, and in such cases their dates and even their countries are still to be discovered. This is the case with the king (maharajadhiraja) Jumaranandin, whose existence is revealed only by the colophons of a commentary which he composed on the grammar of Kramadishvara. More often than others, Buddhist and Jain manuscripts are accompanied by colophons rich in data of use for both political history and that of religion and literature.

(c) Foreign Sources

Documents on the Proto-History of the Indo-Aryans

§ 51. Ancient documents from Egypt and western Asia give Indo-European proper names, of which some are of Iranian form and others approximate to Indo-Aryan forms. A Kassite (or Kusite) solar divinity of about the XVIIIth century B.C., Surias, evidently corresponds to the Vedic sun-god Surya. The documents found in Egypt at Tel-el-Amarna, written in

Akkadian and collected under Amenhotep III and IV, and also the documents in an Indo-European language found at Boghaz Koi in Anatolia, the ancient country of the Hittites, contain royal and princely names resembling Iranian names. They are in particular the names the Mitannian kings who ruled the region of the upper Euphrates. A treaty of the Hittite king Suppiluliumas with the Mitannian king Mattiwaza names among the gods, apparently Mitannian, called upon to witness it, Mitra, Uruwana, Indar and Nasattiyana. These are Indo-Iranian names, or perhaps rather Indo-Aryan, since their forms are close to the Vedic forms Mitra, Varuna, Indra and the Nasatya, and Varuna is not Iranian. On the other hand Varuna may correspond to the Greek Uranos. These facts can provide the basis for the most varied hypothetical combinations. It can be supposed that the Mitannian pantheon had borrowed from the ancestors of the Indo-Aryans, then on their way towards India, or already in India, or that the Mitannians and the future Indo-Aryans both borrowed from a common source, and so on.

Iranian Documents

§ 51. Some inscriptions of Darius in Persian verse make Panjab and Sind (Hindu) a satrapy. The famous inscription of Behistan does not mention this satrapy : the conqest must therefore have taken place between the date of this inscription and that of the later inscriptions which mention it. The *Avesta* mentions the Panjab, Haptahindu, in a list of countries indicating the bounds of the world known to the authors (*Vendidad* I). Above all, the *Avesta* contains a mass of facts on mythology, ideas and usages which have Indian countries, and can thenceforth be regarded as Indo-Iranian. Without telling us anything on the history of events in the strict sense, the *Avesta* is a source for the history of Indian thought, since it enables us in many cases to distinguish ideas which it has possessed from a remote Indo-Iranian period from those which it has conceived or developed more recently. A Pehlavi inscription of Sahpur I, discovered in 1939 at Naks-i-Rustam, informs us about the conquest of part of India by this prince in the IIIrd century A.D.

Greek Documents

Before Alexander

§ 53. The Greek sources are of great importance for Indian history because of the many exact statements they contain, and the dates which they enable us to infer.

Before Alexander the Greeks possessed information on India which was casual and often fantastic but is by no means lacking in interest. Unfortunately the greater part of it has come down to us only in a fragmentary state. The Greeks know India mostly through their contacts with Persia. Before conquering the Panjab, Darius had a reconnaissance of the course of the Indus made by Skylax in about 517 B.C. We do not possess the account of his journey, which must have been used by Hecataeus of Miletus in a work which has also perished. On the other hand we possess a fragment of the *Indika* of Ktesias, preserved in the Library of Photius (IXth century). This author, a physician of the school of Cnidus, went in 416 B.C. to the court of Artaxerxes Mnemon, where he resided for 17 years. What remains of his book is only a series of accounts of curiosities, for the most part of a fantastic kind. Herodotus (484-406 B.C.) though much more exact, hardly knew anything more than travellers' tales of the same type about the Indians, especially about those of the central part of India who never submitted to Darius (see especially III, 98-106). However, we can disentangle useful information from his work. In any case, the historical fact of the conquest of a small part of India by Darius is attested, and some credible information is given on the people of the north-west borders of India, people who interest, on Herodotus's time would soon interest the historian of India.

Documents on Alexander's Expedition

§ 54. With Alexander's expedition our knowledge of all these peoples and of the Indians themselves suddenly becomes richer and more exact. But Alexander passed only through the region of the north-west. India, in the narrow sense of the word, is the country of the Indus. Under the Seleucids, who established themselves on the frontier, the country became known more thoroughly. The information accumulated at the time of Alexander's expedition and under the Seleucids has come down to us interspersed among the work of later historians and geographers.

The principal narratives put into circulation were those of the voyage of Nearchus, who on Alexander's orders sailed down the Indus and returned through the Persian Gulf, the histories of Alexander by Aristobulus of Cassandrea and Onesicritus, who went with him, and last and above all, the *Indika* of Megasthenes, sent on more than one occasion between 302 and 297 B.C. by Seleukos Nikator as ambassador

to Sandrakottos, that is to say Chandragupta Maurya, whose date has been established by this fact. The work of Megasthenes contained much detail on the people and the social system of India. More or less considerable fragments of these works have been preserved, reproduced or analysed, in particular by Strabo (63 B.C. -21 A.D.) in his *Geography* (XVI), Diodorus Siculus (end of 1st century A.D.) in his *Bibliotheca Historica* (II, 35-42), and Arriaan ((IInd century A.D.), in his *Anabasis,* a history of Alexander's expedition and in particular in his *Indika.*

Eratosthenes (276-194 B.C.) and Agatarchides of Cnidus (end of the IInd century B.C.) also used these works in their geographical books, which have been lost. In the IInd century A.D. Polyaenus, Doin Cassius and Clement of Alexandria (died 217) also used them in their books, which fortunately have been preserved. The last-named, in his *Stromates,* makes the first mention in Europe of the name of the Buddha (Boutta).

These books contain few historical facts and a certain number of legends. They are, none the less, of very great value, because they give dated evidence on facts and states of things which are generally known better from Indian sources but are there left without dates. In addition, Polybius in his *General History* (IInd century B.C.) has left us valuable information, often supplementing or completing that of Strabo, on the Indo-Greek states established on the frontier of the Seleucid kingdom, which played an important part in the history of India.

Commercial and Geographical Texts

§ 55. Another class of sources is the material left by the merchants who began in large numbers to sail the Indian Ocean after Hippalos, at the beginning of the Christian era, discovered the cycle of the monsoon, which enabled a ship to cross that ocean and return in the course of the same year. Doubtless more information had been brought to Alexandria by Asians who had reached that port in earlier times.

The principal works which make use of these sources are the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (Periplous tes Erythras Thallasses) and the section relating to India in Ptolemy's *Geography.*

The *Periplus* dates from the second half of the Ist century A.D., probably between 80 and 89 (C. Muller). It is a compendious guide for the use of merchants trading with India. It enumerates the coastal towns, stating which articles of

merchandise can be imported or brought from the interior in each case, and often indicating by what power the place is ruled. It supplies first-hand information on the situation in India in its time.

The *Geogaphy* of Ptolemy (about 150 A.D.) in the part devoted to India (Vill, 1-4) is a very valuable account of the parts of India then known. Like the *Periplus,* it interests the historian especially for the indications it gives on the people who occupied the various regions and the kings who ruled them. These two texts are evidence on the division of India among the political powers.

In some ways similar to these works is the *Christian Topography,* Topographia Christianike, of Kosmas Indikopleustes (about 525 A.D.). From the same period there are allusions to trade with India in the work of Procopius on the Persian war.

Various Documents

§ 56. A number of works of Greek philosophers, historians, geographers and miscellaneous writers refer to India, but they are valuable as evidence of the Greeks' knowledge on the subject rather than as sources for Indian history. Indian wisdom enjoyed great prestige, and there are many references to Brahmans (St. Hippolytus),—gymnosophists and samans. In the fragments of Alexander Polyhistor (about 85 B.C.) and Bardesanes (IInd century A.D.), samans appear to correspond to Buddhist priests. Philostratus, at the beginning of the IIIrd century, speaks of India in his life of Apollonius of Tyana, a wonder-worker of the Ist century who is said to have travelled in search of wisdom to the land of the Brahmans. In later times the celebrated story about Alexander by the Pseudo-Callisthenes popularised many legends about India.

§ 57. The ideas held by the Greeks about the countries which interest the historian of India are of some indirect use. From the period of the *Periplus* they knew of the countries as far as Thina (China), and continental and insular Chryse (Indo-china and Sumatra). Especially after the time of Ptolemy, who moreover used the work of his predecessor Marinus of Tyre, which is not extant (about 100 A.D.), they knew more about these countries, and began to have a good knowledge of the silk route across central Asia, which was one of the lines of the expansion of India in the opposite direction. Finally, the historians have left us some facts on the barbarians whom central Asia unloosed at the same time upon eastern

Asia and India before and after the Christian era. Strabo mentions the Asioi, the Pasianoi, the Tocharoi, the Sarakauloi, the Massageta, the Saka. The Byzantine historians, beginning with Procopius, knew the Hephthalite Huns. Most of the Greek sources for the history of the Seleucids and the Indo-Greek kingdoms of Bactria give some information about these "Scythians" and these Huns. The Syriac documents and the Armenian historians like Moise of Khoren (Vth century A.D.) draw part of their information on these peoples from the Greek sources.

Latin Documents

§ 58. Less important than the Greek documents, from which they often derive, the Latin documents nevertheless make some useful additions to our knowledge.

Trogus Pompeius, a native of Gaul (28 B.C.-14 A.D.) wrote a history of the world known by the name *Historiae Philippicae*. This work is lost, but Justinus (IInd century A.D.) preserved the prologues to the chapters and wrote an abridgment of it, *Epitoma Historiarum Philippicarum*. This contains valuable material for the history of the relations of the Seleucids with India and for that of the invaders of Bactria and India. It must not, however, be forgotten that where we can check the statements of the *Epitoma* they are not always exact. Pomponius Mela (Ist century A.D.) treats of India from the geographical point of view in his *De Chorographia*. It is also in relation to the geography of India that Pliny the Elder (Caius Plinius Secundus) (Ist century A.D.) gives his information on the political state of India in his *Naturalis Historia* (book 6). Pliny's work is not an intelligent compilation, but full of facts, and the sources are carefully indicated. These sources are often badly copied and badly understood, but Pliny's assertions and those of other authors, in particular of Strabo, whom Pliny did not know, corroborate each other in many instances. We have also a map of the Roman trade routes of the second half of the Ivth century, called the Table of Peutinger, which includes India.

Pliny and others show the activity of the trade between India and Italy. The diplomatic relations are known from the numerous references to Indian ambassadors in Augustus's Testament, in Suetonius and Florus, and by the historians of the IVth century, Spartian (Aelius Spartianus), Ammianus Marcellinus, Aurelius Victor and Paulus Orosius. Their information is generally confirmed by complementary sources.

In the IInd century A.D. Quintus Curtius Rufus treats incidentally of India in his *History of Alexander.*

The Rome Emperors, especially Augustus, appear to have dreamed of extending their empire to the Indus. But the Iranian kingdoms, first the Parthian and then the Sassanian, stood in their way and reduced the relations between the Greco-Roman world and India. Owing to this fact the later Greek and Roman documents show many gaps and much lack of precision in their information on India after the first centuries of our era.

Chinese Documents

§ 59. After the IVth century especially, the Chinese documents perform the same service for Indian history as the Greek and Latin sources for the previous period. The Chinese information does not always begin just where the classical material leaves off. It would not be possible to reconstruct a continuous history of India only from the foreign sources. They merely provide chronological fixed points around which the facts from Indian sources can be placed.

§ 60. However, the Chinese sources make contact with the classical sources for the countries of Central Asia, and thus indirectly throw a certain amount of light on the history of India, which suffered the repercussions of the movements of peoples in that region. It is from the Chinese sources that we learn most of what we know of the "Scythians", the Yue-che, who invaded India, in particular from the *Che Ki,* "Historical Memoirs", of Sseu-ma Ts'ien (beginning of the Ist century B.C.), from the *Ts'ien-Han Chou,* "Annals of the Earlier Hans", by Pan kou and Pan Tchao (end of the Ist century A.D.), and the *Heou-Han Chou,* "Annals of the Later Hans", by Fan Ye (398-445 A.D.).

§ 61. The annals of the later Chinese dynasties give us information on the relations, after this period, of China with India and the countries under Indian influence. The most useful are *Souei Chou,* "Annals of the Souei" (who reigned 589-618), *Kieou T'ang Chou* and *Sin T'ang Chou* (1060 A.D.), the Old and the New Annals of the T'ang respectively (who reigned 618-907 A.D.). But the annals of earlier and later dynasties are not without interesting facts on India. More than that, since the Leang dynasty (502-556 A.D.) a number of separate books relating to India have been published in China. India is mentioned in the Buddhist encyclopædias like *Fa Yuan*

Tchou Lin, compiled in 668 A.D. by Tao-che, and in various collections of material on foreign countries such as *Pei Che* published in 644 A.D. by Li Yen-cheou, and *Pien Yi Tien,* a section of the encyclopædia *Kou Kin T'ou Chou Tsi Tch'eng* (XVIIIth century) which reproduces many fragments from the old narratives of travellers and pilgrims. Other facts are provided by the collections of biographies of Buddhists such as *Siu Kao Seng Tchouan* (664-667 A.D.) and *Song Kao Seng Tchouan* (988 A.D.), or the collections of official documents like the *Ts'o Fou Yuan Kouei* (1013 A.D.). This last work contains among other things an order of investiture sent by the Emperor of China to King Muktapida of Kashmir.

The Chinese Pilgrims

Fa-hian

§ 62. The best information is always given by the narratives of the Buddhist pilgrims and of the ambassadors, who however were often also pilgrims.

The monk Fa-hian visited India at the beginning of the Vth century and has left the *Fo Kouo Ki,* "Account of the Buddhist Kingdoms", in 40 chapters, which describes his journey from his departure from the town of Tch'ang-ngan in 399 A.D. to his return to China in 414 A.D., through Central Asia, North-West India, Central India, the Ganges Valley, and the sea route, with stops in Ceylon and Java. In each of the countries he visits he indicates first of all the Buddhist holy places, and states what relics are to be found there, and what is the state of the religion. Between 518 and 522 A.D. Song-Yun and Houei-cheng travelled in Uddiyana and Gandhara.

Hiuan-tsang

§ 63. In the VIIth century came the greatest of the Chinese pilgrims, Hiuan-tsang, a man of faith and of science, one of the most attractive figures of Buddhist history. He set out for India alone and on foot in 629 A.D., defying an Imperial prohibition, crossed Central Asia, stayed a long time in India, in particular at the court of Harsha, and visited almost the whole country. He wished to proceed to Ceylon, but was prevented by the outbreak of political disturbance in the island. Returning by the land route, he reached China in 645 A.D. The details of his journey are known to us from his *Life,* written by two of his disciples, Houei-li and Yen-tsong. His own "Memoir on the Countries of the West", *Si Yu Ki,* is similar to that of Fa-hian but infinitely richer in historical data. It refers to many Indian traditions and enables

us to establish some very important synchronisms. As a consequence of Hiuan-tsang's return to China, Wang Hiuan-ts'o was sent four times to India as ambassador. We have some fragments of his narrative and some information about his journeys and the state of things he found in India. In addition he played some part in the history of India by leading a military campaign against one of the kingdoms of Central India. A compilation of the time, *Si Yu Tche* or *Si Kouo Tche,* edited by Yen-t'song (died), [the text says "died 610", which is clearly wrong], draws its material from Hiuan-tsang and Wang Hiuan-Ts'o, but only quotations from it have been preserved.

I-TSING

§ 64. Another great pilgrim, I-tsing, made the journey to and from India by sea, staying also a long time in Indonesia, then a secondary but vigorous centre of Indian culture (671-695). We owe to I-tsing, among other works, the *Ta T'ang Si Yu K'ieou Fa Kao Seng Tchouan,* "Memoir composed in the epoch of the great T'ang dynasty on the eminent religious men who went to seek the Law in the western lands", and the *Nan Hai Ki Kouei Nei Fa Tchouan,* "Memoir on the interior Law sent from the seas of the south". The first gives lives of sixty pilgrims, and the second sets forth the practices of the Buddhist countries as an example for the Chinese monks. It therefore gives much information on the state of Buddhism in India in its time, but also deals with Sanskrit literature. Its data, unfortunately not very precise, do nevertheless suffice to fix the dates of a certain number of Sanskrit works which we should otherwise be unable to place.

After the time of I-tsing we have the journeys of other Chinese pilgrims, such as that of Houei-tch'ao, found by Pelliot at Touen-houang, that of Wou-k'ong (751-790), and of Ki-ye (964-976).

The Chinese have also preserved for us a number of facts about the Indians who went to Central Asia or China as missionaries or as translators of Buddhist books. Finally the Chinese catalogues of translations of Sanskrit works often give us information on the literary history of Buddhism. The dates which they give for the translations set limits below which the composition of the undated original cannot be placed. Moreover certain Buddhist texts which have more or less direct historical value have been preserved only in Chinese versions.

Tibetan Documents

§ 65. Tibetan literature, although generally inspired by Sanskrit when not directly translated from it, has produced historical works more frequently than the Indian literatures have done. They are mostly histories of Tibet itself, but they are of equal interest from the Indian point of view because of the close relations between the two countries which they mention. Moreover the history of Indian Buddhism was systematically pieced together and set forth by the Tibetan authors.

Sources on the Relations between India and Tibet

The relations of Tibet with India begin officially with the introduction of Indian Buddhism into Tibet under the king Sron Bchan Sgan Po in the VIIth century A.D. A kind of sacred history of Tibet, the *Mani Bka' 'Bum'* tells, among other facts of interest to India, of the scientific embassy sent from Tibet to India for the study of the scriptures and grammar of the country; also of the marriage of king Sron Bchan Sgan Po with a Nepalese princess. The work is sometimes attributed to Sron Bchan Sgan Po himself, but it bears traces of much later composition, and may have been written by one of the first Dalai Lamas in the XVth century. However that may be, this source relates mainly to the history of the expansion of Indian culture through its data, admittedly often legendary, on the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet.

Sources for the History of Buddhism

§ 67. The *Mani Bka' 'Bum* is less important for history than the special works which the Tibetans devoted to the origin of Buddhism in India and its propagation in Tibet and Mongolia. These are late works, but they commend themselves to us by the skill they show in using their numerous sources, to which we have no access.

§ 68. The learned Bu Ston (1290-1364) has left, among a number of other works, *Chos 'Byun*, "The Birth of the Law", in three parts. The first is a general introduction in which the whole of Buddhist literature is reviewed. The second is an exposition, though partly theoretical and mythical, of the origins of Buddhism as expounded in the Tibetan monasteries. The third deals with Buddhism in Tibet. Bu Ston has often been made use of and copied by his successors. It is in the second part that material relating to India occurs, especially in the form of prophecies taken from various Buddhist books,

and biographical and bibliographical facts about the chief Buddhist teachers. There is also much information on literary history.

Za Lu, who was born in 1374 and in 1438 became head of the monastery of Dgal Idan, is the author of a book, *Gsun 'Bum,* similar to that of Bu Ston, from which it sometimes copies.

§ 69. Taranatha, who was born in 1575, wrote in 1608 his *Rgya Gar Chos 'Byun,* "The Birth of the Law of India". It is in intention a historical work, and the author is not to be blamed for the fact that some of the information available to him had been distorted by legend. After a short introduction, the book is divided into 44 chapters which narrate the historical events as Buddhist tradition had preserved them. It begins in the times of King Ajatashatru and comes to an end with King Mukundadeva of Magadha, who died 38 years before the book was written. It is especially valuable for its material on the Buddhist masters and on the Pala dynasty.

§ 70. Ye Shes Dpal 'Byor, born in 1704, head of the Sum Pa (Sum Pa Mkhan Po) monastery in the province of Amdo, wrote a big history of Buddhism in India and Tibet, completed probably in 1748, *Dpag Bsam Ljon Bzan.* After an account of the nature of the world, the first part tells the story of Buddhism in Tibet. The second part, dealing in detail with the relations between Tibet and India, is of interest to the historian of India.

Chronological Works

§ 71. In addition to these historical works, the Tibetans drew up chronological tables which are of interest for the history of India although they note mainly Tibetan events. The dates are given in cyclical years corresponding to the years of the sixty-year cycle of South India, and are at the same time given names equivalent to those of the corresponding Chinese cyclical years.The first Tibetan cycle begins in 1027, corresponding to the 4th year of the cycle then current (Pelliot). *Vaidurya Dkar Po,* written in 1687 by the Regent of Lhasa, Sde Srid Sans Rgyas Rgya Mcho, contains a short chronology, which has been translated and published by Csoma de Koros. But Csoma made a mistake, and the equivalents in the Christian era which he gives for the Tibetan dates are all two years late (Pelliot).

Grub Mtha' Shel Kyi Me Lon, "Mirror of the System" by Chos Kyi Ni Ma Dpal Bzan Po, who was born in 1677, and

Re' U Mig, the work of Ye Shes Dpal 'Byor, appended to his *Dpang Bsam Ljon Bzan,* are more valuable.

Various Works

§ 72. *Gsun 'Bum,* written by the encyclopædic Klon Rdol in the XVIIIth century, can be utilised for historical purposes. A number of Tibetan works which refer to relations with India contain interesting material on Indian history, especially on the history of Buddhism. Finally, as in Chinese, there have been preserved in Tibetan a number of texts of which the Indian originals have been lost containing data of value for history.

Much remains to be done to make full use of the Tibetan sources, which are especially rich in facts on the mediæval period.

Arabic, Persian and Turkish Documents

§ 73. The authors of the most ancient Muslim texts aimed at giving information on the country and its inhabitants rather than on history in the proper sense. But as the power of Islam in the peninsula expanded, the Muslim historians wrote more and more on the history of India, which now formed part of the history of Islam. The works of the earlier phase are most often in Arabic; those of the second always in Persian.

Ancient Arabic Authors

§ 74. The early Arabic authors who wrote on India knew it at the height of the expansion of its civilisation. For Masudi in the Xth century, it extended to Zabag, that is Java, which was its limit towards the Chinese world, though it was still expanding. It was impossible to obtain a thorough knowledge of such a world: the Muslim travellers could at first only report such matters of detail as came to their notice by chance. Of these reports some have been lost, but the substance has in many cases been preserved by a great bibliographical collection, *Kitab al Fihrist,* written in 988 A.D. Thus it contains a chapter on India based on the facts of Al Kindi (IXth century). These data are among the earliest which have come down to us. From the same period (844-848 A.D.) dates the Book of Routes and Provinces of Ibn Horadad Beh, concerning post relays and rates of taxes in various provinces, which contains some material on India. From the same period again (851 A.D.) comes the famous narrative of the journey of the merchant Sulayman, supplemented by notes added about

916 by Abu Zayd Hasan, which is comparable in some respects to the *Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*. To the end of the IXth century belongs the *Kitab Fotuh al Boldan* of Al Beladori, a historical work which contains a chapter on the first Muslim invasion of the Indus valley.

§ 75. In the Xth century information collected on journeys across India was presented by a number of authors. Abu Dolaf Misar ibn Mohalhal travelled over part of Tibet and north-west India in 942, and his book, now lost, was used in the XIIIth century by Yakut in his *Mo'jam ul Boldan,* "Dictionary of Countries", and by Al Kazwini in his *Atar al Bilad,* "Monuments of Countries". The travellers Al Istahri and Ibn Haukal, who met in Sind about 941 A.D., have left a description of the country, the second named having done no more than copy the first. About the same time a more important author, Masudi, wrote a universal history, later abridged in a book which is itself very long, but is the form in which it has come down to us, called *Moraj al Dahab,* translated inexactly as "The Prairies of Gold" (947 A.D.). A special chapter (the 7th) treats of India, but the material is repeated at other places in the book. Often, unfortunately, the data of this famous work are legends or details about curious customs. A collections of still more legendary material and curiosities makes up *Ajayb al Hind,* "Marvels of India", which dates from about 960 A.D.

Arabic Authors After Mahmud's Conquests : Al Biruni

§ 76. From the first years of the XIth century Mahmud of Ghazni invaded India, which thus entered the domain of Islamic history. The *Kitab al Yamini* of Otbi relates the events up to 1022 A.D., and it was preceded by another chronicle of the same title, now lost. The *Tarikhi Masudi,* or better *Tarikhi Bayhaki,* in Persian, by Al Bayhaki (995-1077 A.D.), deals with the reigns of Mahmud and his son, Masud. The Arab authors did not confine themselves to the conquest, but inquired into the ancient history of India. After 1026 A.D. appeared the Persian version of an Arabic work, which was itself translated from Sanskrit, on the history of the kings of India. This version, due to Abul Hasan Ali, has come down to us inserted in *Mojmal al Tawarikh,* (1116 A.D.). It gives legends of the type which appear in the *Mahabharata* and the *Puranas.* In addition, Mahmud brought to India in his train a number of learned men who wished to study the vast field which his conquest opened. Among these was the greatest

of the Arab students of India, Abu Rihan Muhammad al Biruni, born in Khvarasm in 973. Al Biruni travelled for several years in India and reached Mathura and Kanyakubja in central India. He died in 1048, leaving among other works a study of India of the first order, *Tarikh al Hind*. A man of universal knowledge, but especially well versed in astronomy, he learnt Sanskrit and translated scientific and philosophical texts from Sanskrit into Arabic and vice versa. His evidence, abundant and exact, is especially valuable on the state of Indian lietrature and the sciences in his time and their previous development.

Various Authors

§ 77. The great Arabic geographers, cosmographers and historians usually dealt with India, but for the most part at second hand and so summarily that they cannot be regarded as sources for the history of India. More important from this point of view, in the period after Al Biruni, are the narratives of journeys, like that of Ibn Battuta, and certain special works. Ibn Battuta (XIVth century), born at Tangier, was the greatest of the Muslim travellers. He travelled right across Asia and pushed into Africa as far as Niger. In his book he devotes many pages to India, where he arrived in 1333 A.D. and spent two years in the service of Muhammad Shah. Among the special works must be included the *Kitab al Milal Wa'n-Nihal,* a treatise on religions by Sarastani (XIIth century), in which a part is devoted to the beliefs of India ; the *Tarikh al Hokama* of Ibn al Kifti (XIIIth century) ; and the biographical dictionary of physicians of Ibn Abi Usaybi'a (XIIIth century), which gives useful information on the scientific intercourse between India and the Arab countries.

Persian Documents

§ 78. From the XIIIth and XIVth centuries the Muslim writings on India based on first-hand knowledge begin to be written more often in Persian than in Arabic. Already in Mahmud's time the great Persian poet Firdausi (940-1020) inserted in his *Shahnama,* "Book of Kings", some legends from India. About 1303 Rashid Din included India in his *Jami'at at-Tawarikh,* "Collection of Histories". Similarly the general historians who came later, like Mirkhond in his *Rauzat as Safa* (XVth century) devoted more or less important parts of their works to India.

But the most detailed information is contained in the special books devoted exclusively to India or to the Muslim

kings who ruled it. *Chachnamah* (1216-17) by Ali bin Hamid bin Abi Bakr al Kufi tells how in the VIIth century a certain Chach usurped the throne of Sind. In the XIVth century *Tabakati Nasiri* of Minhaj-i Siraj and *Tarikhi Firuzshahi* of Barani were continued to the beginning of the reign of Firuz Tughluq (succeeded to the throne in 1351) by Shamsi Siraj Afif. Under Muhammad and Firuz Tughluq, Ayin ul Mulk composed a collection of official documents, the *Munsat-i Mahru* or *Insa-i Mahru,* which is valuable for history because of the information it gives on the administration and the conditions of life in its time. To the XVth century belongs the noteworthy book *Tarikhi Mubarakshahi* of Yahya ibn Ahmad.

§ 79. In the XVIth century are a series of works composed at the order or in praise of the emperor Akbar, the most important being the *Akbar Namah* of Abul Fazl Allami, the minister who helped Akbar in his attempt to create a syncretist religion, and who as minister caused to be compiled a complete description of India, the *Ayin-i Akbari,* "Institutes of Akbar". We should also mention the *Muntahabu't Tawarikh* of Al Badaoni, and the *Tabakat-i Akbari* of Nizam ud Din Ahmad. In addition Ibrahim ibn Hariri has left a history of India and of the Mongol conquest, in *Tarikh-i Ibrahimi* or *Tarikh-i Humayun.* In the XVIIth century historical writing in Persian becomes very abundant, but we shall confine ourselves to the *Tarikh* of Ferishta (begun 1593, continued to 1612), a famous work especially valuable for the history of the Deccan. A treatise on religions, especially on those of India, *Dabistan,* probably due to Mobed Shah, also belongs to the XVIIth century. The value of his information is unfortunately often doubtful.

The Memoirs of Babur

§ 80. Among the Muslim sources a special and honoured place must be given to the *Babur Namah,* the "Book of Babur", memoirs remarkable for the interest of their contents and for their literary value, written by the emperor himself in Eastern Turkish at the beginning of the XVIth century and soon translated into Persian. A century later the emperor Jehangir also wrote his memoirs, this time in Persian.

From the XVIIth century the Persian material on the history of India is still more abundant. Much of it however lacks interest, since many texts limit themselves to reproducing earlier sources for the ancient period, while for their own

times there are many European sources which cover the same ground.

Later European Documents

Travellers and Missioneries of the XIIIth and XIVth Centuries

§ 81. Islam, placed between India and Europe, for a long time cut the connections between them. However, in the European Middle Ages some missionaries and travellers came from afar to India and the neighbouring countries, and took back reports not only on the countries and the customs of the people but on important historical events. In the XIIIth century the Papacy nourished the hope of forming an alliance with the Mongols against Islam and of converting Asia to Christianity, and in consequence relations were established with eastern Asia. At the same time commercial relations between the Near and the Far East were strengthened.

Marco Polo

§ 82. The brothers Polo of Venice, after an earlier journey to the court of the Great Khan Qubilai, took with them on a second journey the son of one of them, Marco. Leaving in 1271 A.D., Marco Polo returned to Europe only in 1295 A.D. He came back by sea, and this gave him the opportunity to touch at several places on the west coast of India. His story, taken down by Rustichello of Pisa and published in French, is justly celebrated as one of the best travel books and contains a number of facts about India. In particular he gives the name of the Pandya king who was reigning at the time of his visit, Sundarbandidevar.

Franciscan Missionaries

§ 83. Several Franciscan missionaries sent to the Far East at the end of the XIIIth and in the XIVth centuries visited India. The only one whose account is of historical value is Odoric of Pordenone. This friar left for the east in 1314 or 1318 A.D., crossed Persia and proceeded by sea to India, where before going on to the Far East he landed at Thana near Bombay some time after 1321. He noted that the "Sarrazins", *i.e.*, the Muslims, had made themselves masters of the country. This can only refer to the conquests of Alauddin and of Mubarak in Rajputana and the Deccan and the reestabilshment of the Muslim power by Ghazi Malik Tughluq in 1320 after the usurpation of Nasruddin Khusru who put Mubarak

to death and turned against Islam. We know these facts from much better evidence than that of Odoric. He however supplies additional confirmation, and in particular shows that despite the troubles of the time, the Muslim power was not challenged in the region to which he refers.

Modern Documents

§ 84. In the modern period, since the advent of the Portuguese in India in 1498 A.D., European documents concerning Indian history have become more and more abundant. They were first collected by the Portuguese historians, Barros, who did not himself go to India, but recorded events up to 1527 A.D., in his *Decadas* of 1552, 1553 and 1563 A.D.; and Couto, who passed the greater part of his life in India and published a fourth *Decada* of Barros, covering the events from 1527 to 1537 A.D., and then eight *Decadas*, covering events up to 1600, between 1602 and 1616 A.D.

Some Portuguese sources are of the greatest importance for Indian history, such as the narrative of Domingo Paes (probably 1520-22), and the chronicle of Fernao Nuniz (probably 1535-37) for the history of the Indian kingdom of Vijayanagar.

Among the principal recent works or collections which form part of the sources for the history of the Indian states and those of the Europeans in India, we shall limit ourselves to a mention of the travels of Bernier, *Letters Edifiantes*, the documents from archives, and the Tamil journal of Anandaranga Pillai, minister of Dupleix at Pondicherry.

(d) Epigraphy

General

§ 85. So far as India is concerned, epigraphy is the most important of the studies auxiliary to history. Inscriptions are authentic and direct evidence of ancient facts, the durabliity of the material on which they are inscribed having allowed them to last till our time. They are very numerous, being counted in thousands. They are found all over India and even beyond its borders. There are a considerable number of Sanskrit inscriptions in Cambodia and on the east coast of Annam, the ancient Champa, and many also in Java and some even in Borneo.

The work of publishing these inscriptions is as yet far from complete. Nevertheless a good deal has been done. The earliest inscriptions in particular have been sought out and

published. Those of Asoka, which had long been forgotten in India, were deciphered by James Prinsep more than a century ago. Many others have appeared, thanks to Cunningham, Buhler, Bhagvan Lal Indraji, Fleet or Rice, to mention only some of the earlier workers. The Sanskrit inscriptions of Further India have mainly been published since Kern, who first drew the attention of Indologists to those of Cambodia, which have been published by Barth, Bergaine, Finot and Coedes.

§ 86. The study of inscriptions is hampered in some measure by the impossibility, for the most part, of examining them, where they are situated, and by the defects of the methods of reproducing them. Direct photography is adequate only for inscriptions which are clear and have not deteriorated. Tracings and photographs made after white material has been applied to the characters to make them more visible run the risk of introducing errors due to the tracer. Paper castes, it is true, are faithful copies, and since they can be handled are often more legible than the original. They are obtained by two processes, that called the "Chinese" and that of Lottin de Laval. The Chinese method is to apply a thin, slightly damp paper to the inscription and to force it into the depressions by light blows of a mallet, some soft packing being placed between. The paper is then inked, and the projecting parts show black while the rest remains white. The method of Lottin de Laval is to take the imprint of the inscription by means of thick, spongy paper, applied damp to the inscription and carefully forced into the depressions with a brush. The paper is allowed to dry on the inscription and is then removed. The side of the paper towards the characters reproduces them more faithfully, but in reverse, so that it has to be read in a mirror. Moreover it shows only white on white. Good paper casts help greatly in the deciphering of inscriptions, but photographic reproduction is usually insufficient to allow of verification in doubtful cases.

Materials of Epigraphic Monuments

§ 87. Most inscriptions are on stone. They are engraved on the surfaces of selected rocks, as flat as can be obtained, sometimes artificially prepared, usually in a crude manner. They are also engraved on pillars, stelae, monuments, pedestals of statues and other stone objects, in particular reliquaries in steatite, a stone which is easily cut and engraved. Some are engraved on bricks and terra cotta. One is known, at Bhatti-

prolu (see § 112) in the Krishna valley, which is carved on crystal. Many are on metal, most commonly sheets of copper (*tamrapatta*), more or less oblong in shape, sometimes long and narrow like the palm-leaves used for writing. Their sizes vary much in the same way as our ordinary sheets of paper. They are seldom more than 1/2 cm. thick, and are sometimes thicker at the edges in order to prevent rubbing of the inscribed surface. When several plates are necessary to accommodate the whole text they are held together by a ring through holes at the top or near the left edge. The joint of the ring is welded with a copper seal. The lines of the text may be parallel to the longer edges, as in the majority of manuscripts, or parallel to the shorter, as in upright stelae. In this case the upper part pierced for the ring is often rounded or shaped like an arch. This is almost always the case with later plates, more especially with those of the Vijayanagar kingdom. Normally the external faces of the first and last plates of the bundle are not inscribed. The text is often accompanied by marks of authentification and signatures.

Bronze is mostly used for seals, which are circular or oval and bear symbols, often animals with or without legends, sometimes legends only. These seals were used, as has just been mentioned, to make an imprint on copper plates to authenticate documents; they were also used to make an imprint on clay. Official seals resemble those which were used to inscribe religious or magical formulae on clay.

Other metals were not often used, but inscriptions are known on gold, silver, lead, brass and even iron. One of the last-named is in every way remarkable, being engraved on a pillar which consists of a single piece of nearly pure iron of a height of more than 7 metres (the Mihrauli pillar near Delhi, bearing a Gupta inscription of the Vth century A.D.).

Languages of the Inscriptions

§ 88. The oldest inscriptions are in Middle Indian. Sanskrit appears shortly before our era and especially in the early centuries of our era (see § 101) and eventually becomes the only language employed in the north. In the south it never ceased to meet competition from the great literary Dravidian languages, Tamil (inscriptions from the beginning of the Christian era), Kannada (from the VIth century), and Telugu (later). In later centuries there are many Muslim inscriptions, mostly in Persian. Finally, few in number but important for history, since prove relations with other countries,

are Aramaean inscriptions (at Taxila mentioning Piyadasi, and at Pul-i-Darunta near Kabul), Pehlevi (the cross of St. Thomas at Kanheri near Bombay), Chinese at Bodh Gaya, by Li Yi-piao and Wang Hiuan-ts'o (Chavannes), and Hebraic (on the island of Chinnamangalam, Cochin).

Purposes of Inscriptions

§ 89. From the point of view of their purposes inscriptions can be classified under the following heads;

(*i*) Proclamations and decrees—most of Asoka's inscriptions are of this type.

(*ii*) Commemorative inscriptions—which relate events, foundations, buildings, or perpetuate the memory of heroes (in the south, Tamil *virakkal,* "hero stone", or *nadugal,* "upright stone"), or of widows who have mounted the funeral pyre with their husband's body (*sati*).

(*iii*) *Panegyrics* (*prashasti*)—which relate the exploits of princes but with exaggerations and often in a conventional style. Such are the inscriptions of King Kharavela at Hathigumpha in Kalinga, or of Samudragupta on the Asoka pillar (see §§ 92, 106, 280).

(*iv*) Charters of foundation or donation—very numerous, ordering the building of monasteries or hospitals, the digging of wells, the care of sources of water, certifying the donation of villages, the award of the revenue from taxes, or on the other hand granting freedom from taxes. In this category a certain number of forgeries are met with.

(*v*) Votive inscriptions—which consecrate a monument or part of a monument or a sculpture as at Sanchi, or a reliquary like that at Piprahva, piously offered by a donor or group of donors, whose names are usually given.

(*vi*) Pious inscriptions—consisting of propitious formulae. To this class belong those which are often found at the foot of a Buddhist statue, summarising in a couplet the nature of the Buddhist teaching. Such inscriptions may be useful for history indirectly, since the period of the characters in which they are written may show the lowest date at which the monument which carries them can be placed.

(*vii*) Explanatory inscriptions—such as those which accompany and function as titles to many of the scenes on the stupa at Bharhut. Some of these inscriptions were placed there in advance in order to indicate to the sculptors which scenes they were to execute.

(*viii*) Miscellaneous inscriptions. Any text whatever can be inscribed. We possess, in addition to scribblings of all sorts, amorous inscriptions (at Sitabenga) and what amount to entire dramas on stone.

The Dating of Inscriptions

§ 90. Inscriptions are important in addition, and indeed more, for the dates which they furnish than for the facts they establish. When they are explicitly dated, the date may be expressed in the years of a clearly indicated era. It is possible then to calculate the corresponding date of our era. But often the era to which the figure is referred is not specified. It must then be determined by inference. It is possible to determine the approximate date of the inscription by comparison of the writing with that of inscriptions of known date, and also by the text, which may refer to facts of which the date is known. Once the period of the inscription is fixed, one then asks which of the known eras is such that the given figure converts into a date which falls within the period found. Undated incriptions are classed chronologically according to the characters used in the writing and the material of the text.

Principal Inscriptions

The Inscriptions of Asoka

§ 91. The most ancient inscriptions to which a date can be assigned are those of Asoka or Piyadasi. They are scattered over the greater part of India, except the extreme south. In the north-west they are in an Aramaeo-Indian script called Kharoshthi ; everywhere else in an Indian script called Brahmi.

The earliest are the various versions of the same text which proclaims a first conversion of the king to Buddhism more than two and a half years before, and a more complete conversion more than one and a half years before. These are inscribed near the capital, Patliputra, at Sahasram, (Sasaram) to the west at Rupnath, in Rajasthan at Bairat, in the Deccan at Maski, Gavimath and Palkigundu, in Mysore at Brahmagiri, Shiddapura and Jatingarame shwara. Then comes a group of 14 edicts, the most important, inscribed on rocks. These are found in the north-west at Shahbazgarhi (anciently known as the edicts of Kapur-di-giri), at Mansehra and Kalsi ; in the west at Girnar in Kathiawar and at Sopara near Bombay ; in the east at Dhauli in Orissa and Jaugada in Kalinga. It is only at Shahbazgarhi and Mansehra that the text is inscribed

in the Aramaeo-Indian character. At Dhauli and Jaugada edicts 10th-13th are missing, but two edicts are added which are not found elsewhere. At Sopara only a fragment of the 8th edict exists. The 4th edict is dated 12 years after the coronation of Asoka. The 5th edict speaks of the creation, 13 years after the same coronation, of officials called *dhamma-mahamatra.* The 14 edicts which form a whole were inscribed in the 13th year after the coronation and the following years.

The 13th is especially important for establishing the chronology of the reign. It mentions that Kalinga was conquered 8 years after the coronation, and refers to five Greek kings. The period of these kings enables us to relate the internal chronology of Asoka's reign to general chronology.

§ 92. Another group of edicts includes six inscribed on pillars (Hindi-lat). The most important of these pillars is at Delhi, where it was taken by Firuz Shah in the XIVth century from Topra, in the upper valley of the Yamuna, where it originally was. In addition to the six edicts it bears a seventh which is not found elesewhere. Another pillar brought to Delhi from Meerut by Firuz Shah, has the first five edicts, but incomplete. A third pillar, originally set up at Kausambi, but taken to Allahabad probably by Akbar, has the six edicts, those called "Of the Queen" and "Of Kausambi". Other inscriptions have been added to it at various times, in particular by Samudragupta. The six edicts are also found in the north at Lauriya-Araraj, Lauriya-Nandangarh and Rampurva.

Most of the pillars carrying the six edicts were originally surmounted by capitals decorated with lions, which show the persistence in Maurya art of a Persian influence. Edicts 1, 4, 5 and 6 are dated 26 years after the coronation, and the supplementary edict of Delhi—Topra 27 years after. The six edicts alternately preach the observances of the Order and recall the king's efforts to promote it and cause it to be respected. The 6th states that it was 12 years after his coronation that Asoka began to have the "inscriptions of the Order", the *dhammalipi,* made. Finally there are a number of individual edicts. Two are found at both Dhauli and Jaugada and are instructions to high officials. At Sarnath is another setting forth instructions to officials. At Sanchi is an edict advocating union in the Buddhist community. One at Nigalisagar commemorates the doubling of the size of the stupa of Buddha Konakamana (this is dated 14 years after the coronation). One at Rumindei, dated 20 years after the coronation, commemorates a royal pilgrimage to the Buddha's birthplace. At Barabar

there are donations, 12 and 19 years after the coronation, of caves to the sect of the Ajivikas. At Bairat in Rajasthan, but carried away to Calcutta (formerly called the edict of Bhabrau) is an edict indicating the Buddhist texts recommended by the king.

§ 93. The language of the edicts varies to some extent according to the regions in which they were inscribed. They are composed in a simple style, free from the high-sounding ceremonious formulae which became the rule later on. Their habitual introductory phrase : Raja evam aha. "Thus says the King", recalls the corresponding formulae of the cuneiform inscriptions of the Achemenians (Senart). In the north-west the inscriptions in Kharoshthi, derived from the Aramaean script, introduced by the Achemenians, refer to themselves by the Persian word *dipi* instead of *lipi* and are sometimes called *nipista,* "written", from Old Persian *nipis,* instead of *likhita,* having the same meaning. Less than a century earlier this region was subject to the Achemenians, and this usage can be interpreted as a sign of the persistence of some of their official terms. It has been regarded more commonly (Senart, Hultzsch) as a sign of a Persian influence on the whole of Asoka's officialdom. The very idea of inscribing on rocks may derive from the Persian practice (Senart). But in any case the purposes of Asoka's edicts are profoundly original.

The date of an edict is normally given by a composite word formed from the number, the word for year, and the adjective formed from the verb abhisich, "to annoint", and followed by the name of the king : thus, dbadasavasabhisitena devanampriyena, "by the well-beloved of the Gods annointed 12 years". The years referred to are completed years. To transfer these dates to our chronology, which includes current years, all the numbers must be increased by one. What happens 12 years after the coronation is for us in the 13th year of the reign.

Inscriptions in Aramaeo-Indian Characters

§ 94. After Asoka, inscriptions in the Aramaeo-Indian script called Kharoshthi form a special series continuing down to the time of the Kushana, after which they disappear. They are confined to the north-west, especially the West Panjab, and north and north-west of Takshashila. They have been found to the west of this region as far as Wardak, west of Kabul, though this was on a portable object, a vase ; and to the north in Swat and to the south at Manikiala. But the

area in which Aramaeo-Indian script was used extended at certain periods far beyond these limits : to Khalatse in Ladakh, to Kangra in east Panjab, where there are two inscriptions in both Aramaeo-Indian and ordinary Indian, to Mohenjo-Daro in Sind, and as far as the region of Mathura. An isolated Aramaeo-Indian inscription has been found at Patna, but it is on a plate undoubtedly carried there. At Siddapura some letters under an Asoka edict in the ordinary Indian script merely show that the craftsman must have come from the North-West.

§ 95. Altogether about a hundred Aramaeo-Indian (Kharoshthi) inscriptions after those of Asoka have been collected. All are short, sometimes no more than a name on a piece of carnelian (Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris), and never more than a few lines. Some of them are found on seals, vases, reliquaries, copper or silver plates, and the pedestals of statues and sculptures. Most of them concern offerings or pious foundations. Among them, prayers for prosperity and health occupy a larger place than among other Indian inscriptions, and this recalls the fashion in western epigraphy of the period (Senart). This may be an edditional indication of western influence on the region in which they were produced. They are important for history because of the names of donors, and more especially the names of Kings, which they mention. These kings are Saka. Parthian and Kushan invaders. The dates given are numerous, but unfortunately they pose more difficult chronology problems than they solve. The eras to which they have to be referred are not indicated.

§ 96. The point of departure for the reckoning of their dates is often that of the era of the Parthians (248 B.C.), since the Saka, who are responsible for these inscriptions, were profoundly influenced by the Parthians, who were sometimes their enemies and sometimes their allies. Sometimes it has to be assumed that the hundreds figure has not been given ; otherwise the dates would be too high (Foucher). An inscription of the Saka king Moa (Moga or Maues) at Taxila is dated 78. If it is read as 178 it may be attributed to the Parthian era, but it may also be a date of a hypothetical Scythian era beginning 150 B.C. (Rapson) or 155 B.C. (Tarn), which other authors have proposed to fix at various other dates in that neighbourhood (see § 240). There is also an inscription of Gondophares (Guduvhara), called that of Takht-i-Bahi, which is dated the 26th year of this king and 103. This cannot be a date of the Parthian era, since Gondophares cannot be earlier

than Moa, and if, as is probable, he was contemporary with St. Thomas, he is later than the Christian era. It has therefore been supposed that the date may refer to the Indian era beginning 58 B.C. and called the Vikrama era (see § 239), supposed by some to have been inaugurated by the Saka king Azes I (see § 240). In this case the date of the inscription would be 45 A.D., and the reign of Gondophares would begin in 19 A.D. It is difficult to suppose that the Vikrama era can be that of the Saka Azes and at the same time that which Jain tradition states was founded to commemorate a victory the Saka (see § 239).

It has otherwise been supposed that Gondophares reckoned by an era which began from the date of the Saka invasion of India between 90 and 80 B.C. (Senart), or in 84 B.C. (Konow); if this is so Gondophares cannot be contemporaneous with St. Thomas, or else he reigned a very long time. Indeed if St. Thomas went to India he did so after the death of Christ, which took place under Pilate, Procurator of Judaea from 26 to 36 A.D.

§ 97. The Kushana, during whose reigns a considerable number of Aramaeo-Indian (Kharoshthi) inscriptions were executed, also had, from Kanishka's time, an era of which the starting point must be 78 A.D., as that of the Indian era called the Saka era (see §§ 239, 265). But Sten Konow proposes 128-129 A.D. as the starting point of Kanishka's era, which he distinguishes from the Saka era (see § 247), and Ghirshman proposes 144 A.D. for this era of Kanishka.

§ 98. The most noteworthy inscriptions of the Saka, apart from those which have been mentioned, are those with "lion capital" at Mathura. The capital consists of lions back to back, on which the inscription is engraved directly. The lower face of the monument is thus covered with it, in such a way that a large part of it was necessarily hidden. One inscription commemorates a pious foundation which in particular mentions the Mahakshatrapa Rajula, otherwise known from his coins under the name Rajuvula (see § 138), and the Yuvaraja, "viceroy", Kharaosta, and Buddhist monks of the Sarvastivadin school.

Among the Kushan inscriptions mention must be made of that on the reliquary of Kanishka found at Peshwar. It is a rather remarkable work of art, but executed in very poor bronze which was originally gilt, and was in any case made to be buried. The inscription, dated the 1st year of Kanishka, mentions the Sarvastivadin, and, apparently, the name of the

artist who executed the reliquary, Agisala, a name which, it is claimed, can be recognised as the Greek Agesilas (Spooner). The stone of Manikiala, preserved in the Louvre, and dated 18 of Kanishka, commemorates the burial of some relics.

The various inscriptions which were not made in order to be read must be interpreted as magical, at least in this sense that they were votive, and intended not to make their prayers public but to bring about their realisation by materialising the expression in writing.

The latest of the dated Aramaeo-Indian (Kharoshthi) inscriptions appears to be that of Mamane Dheri, executed on the pedestal of a statue of the Buddha. The date is 89, which may refer to the Saka era of 78 A.D. and would thus correspond to 167 A.D., or may refer to the era of 144 postulated by Ghirshman (see § 97), which would give the date 233 A.D. Other inscriptions with dates expressed in figures above 300 are actually earlier. Their dates must be calculated from other eras, such as the Seleucid or the Arsacid. Otherwise improbable dates are obtained. From the beginning of the IIIrd century A.D. this Aramaeo-Indian epigraphy disappears from India entirely.

Inscriptions in the Common Indian Character of Asoka

§ 99. Some inscriptions in characters similar to those of the Asoka monuments are known. Those of Mahasthan, the earliest inscriptions found in Bengal, instruct a Mahamata to come to the aid of a ruined clan. There are these inscriptions of Dasharatha, Asoka's successor, at Barabar near similar inscriptions of Asoka. Some secular inscriptions have been found in the Ramgarh hills, in particular in the Sitabenga cave.

Inscriptions of the Shunga Period

§ 100. Two of the inscriptions on the stupa at Bharhut state that they were made in the Shunga period. At Besnagar, near Vidisha, a pillar inscribed by the Greek Heliodorus, the ambassador of Antialkidas to king Bhagabhadra, is of the Shunga age, since Antialkidas must have died about 100 B.C., and Bhagabhadra must be the next to the last of the Shungas of the Pauranic list (called Bhagavata in the list). A group of inscriptions at Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Orissa is often, but wrongly, ascribed to the beginning of the Shunga period. The chief of them, that in the Hathigumpha cave, is due to Kharavela, the king of Kalinga. It is a bombastic panegyric in Prakrit prose, in which the king enumerates his exploits year by year. This would be a very valuable document, were

it not very badly preserved and in large part hardly legible. Some have thought that it is dated 165 of a Maurya era which presumbly began at the accession of Chandragupta, but the reading of the name of this era is highly improbable (Barua for this last point). In fact what is referred to is a canal dug 300 years earlier (*tivasasata,* sometimes wrongly translated as 103) in Kalinga by the Nanda king. This last must be a king of the dynasty overthrown in 313 B.C. by Chandragupta, after having held the throne for 100 years or 22 years according to diverse sources (see § 200); and hence the inscription must be dated in the Ist century B.C. It refers to a king Satakani to the west, who is certainly an Andhra, and perhaps to a king of Magadha, Bahasatimita, whom some wish, wrongly, to identify with Pushyamitra (see § 221).

§ 101. The name Bahasatimita belongs to two kings known from the coins of Kaushambi (see § 135), and appears in two other inscriptions, one at Mora near Mathura, in ancient characters (the form of the name here is Brihasvatimita), and the other at Pabhosa near Kaushambi, in more recent characters. This latter is dated the 10th year of an Udaka (?), that is, according to Jayaswal, Odraka (see § 221), the fifth Shunga king, but the identification is very uncertain. The inscription is due to an Ashadhasena who, in a neighbouring inscription, calls himself the son of a king Bhagvata whose family goes back to a king Sonakayana of Adhichatra. Bhagavata may be the name of the 9th Shunga of the Puranas, who must be the king referred to in the inscription of Heliodorus. But according to the genealogy, it must be a different king of the same name. Bahasatimita and Bhagavata may be kings of Shunga ancestry but not belonging to the imperial Shungas of the Puranas. An inscription of the Ayodhya region has been taken as due to the 6th "brother" of Pushyamitra, "who has twice performed the horse sacrifice" (Jayaswal), but "brother" does not appear in the text, and it must mean a king "sixth (successor ?) of Pushyamitra". This inscription and those of Pabhosa are in characters of a type more recent than those of the Heliodorus inscription (see § 223). Nevertheless the 5th Shunga and the 6th successor of Pushyamitra must necessarily have been earlier than the next to the last Shunga, under whom Heliodorus had his inscription made. Thus we have to assume that the evolution of character forms proceeded more rapidly in some regions than in others, and that the inscription of Heliodorus is of a conservative tendency. This supposition would deprive datings on paleographic grounds of

much of their value. It must be noted that the inscription of the successor of Pushyamitra is in Sanskrit, and that it is one of the earliest in that language. In its time the use of Sanskrit in epigraphy is still quite exceptional.

Saka and Kushana Inscriptions

§ 102. The Saka and Kushana inscriptions of the north-west are in Aramaeo-Indian (Kharoshthi) characters, but those in Central India are sometimes in that character and sometimes in Brahmi. Many Saka inscriptions in Brahmi are found in the Mathura region, for example, that of a certain Amohini, dating from the time of a Mahakshatrapa Shodasa, and from 72 (Luders, Konow, as opposed to Buhler, Rapson, who read 42) of an unspecified era. It is probably the Vikrama era of 58 B.C., and the inscription is thus of 15 A.D. It is a Jain work, like many others of the same period in that region. At Mathura are also found inscriptions dated in the reigns of Kanishka and Huvishka, and at Sarnath near Banaras others from the reign of Kanishka, year 3. Among these inscriptions, those of the Saka are generally in Prakrit (see § 271), and those of the Kushana in a mixed Sanskrit mingled with Prakrit forms, not as a result of mistakes but through care in the Sanskritisation of Prakrit writing (Senart).

Inscriptions of the Andhrabhritya

§ 103. The principal inscriptions of the Andhrabhritya are found in the west at Nanaghat, Nasik and Karle in the Western Ghats and at Kanheri (ancient Kanhagiri) near the present Bombay. At Nanaghat there is an epigraph of Simuka Satavahana together with a statue of him; an inscription of Nayanika, widow of Satakani son of Simuka, and daughter of Maharathi, that is Maratha, prince; one from the time of Chatarapana Vasathiputa, and many others. At Nasik, among other inscriptions of the Satakani, we must mention one of Gotamiputa which implies a victory over the Kshaharata, and that of Gotami Balasiri, his mother, dated the 19th year of Siri Pulumayi Vasithiputa, which is a charter of donation but contains a panegyric of Gotamiputa and confirms, among other facts, the victory over the Kshaharata. At Karle there is an inscription attributed to the same Gotamiputa, renewing a donation made earlier by Usabhadata, son-in-law of the defeated Kshaharata Nahapana. There are also inscriptions from the reign of Vasithiputa Siri Pulumayi. At Kanheri some inscriptions of Gotamiputa Siriyana Satakani also carry the title *Sami* (Skt. *Svamin*), " master ",

Some inscriptions of the Andhrabhritya are also found at Amaravati (see § 257). At Banavasi and Malavalli (in Mysore) the mention of Haritiputa Vinhukada Chutukulanada Satakani proves that the country thereabout was ruled by a Satakani of the Chutu family. Inscriptions are also found of dynasties which succeeded the Andhrabhritya : at Nasik of an Abhira king, at Kanheri of a Traikutaka king, at Jagayappetta, in the lower valley of the Krishna,, of an Ikhahu, and at Nagarjunikonda, near Amaravati, inscriptions of others of the Ikhahu.

Inscriptions of the Kshaharata

§ 104. The Kshaharata have left inscriptions in the same places as the Andhrabhritya,, who disputed possession and finally drove them out of those areas. At Nasik and at Karle, Ushavadata or Usabhadata, son-in-law of Nahapana, has left a number of records of donations. At Junnar, the minister of the same Nahapana has also left a donative inscription, which is important since its date gives us a minimum duration for the reign of Nahapana (see § 263).

These inscriptions have been regarded as palaeographically earlier than those from the time of Shodasa at Mathura (D. R. Bhandarkar), and their dates, from 41 to 46, have consequently been supposed to refer to the same era as the 72 of the tablet mentioning Shodasa (see § 102), which would place Nahapana before the Christian era (Jouveau-Dubreuil). But the palaeographic evidence is not conclusive and may even tend to an opposite conclusion : it therefore does not make necessary a reconsideration of the whole chronology of the Kshaharata, and consequently of the Kshatrapas of Ujjayini and of the Satakani.

Inscriptions of the Kshatrapas of Ujjayini

§ 105. The most noteworthy is that of Rudradaman at Girnar, inscribed on the rock which bears the 14 edicts of Asoka and an inscription of Skandagupta (see §§ 91, 268). It concerns the repair of a dam built under Chandragupta Maurya and improved by a vassal of Asoka, a Greek with the Persian name of Tushaspha. It is at the same time a panegyric in polished Sanskrit verse, the first of the kind in Indian epigraphy. It is dated 72, that is of the Saka era, *i.e.* 150 A. D.

Many other inscriptions have been found in various places in the same region. One, of Andhau, is dated 52 (130 A. D.) and mentions both Chastana and Rudradaman as kings. One of Jasdhan is of 126 or 127 (204-205 A. D.) under Rudrasena I. Most of these give some sketch of the genealogy of the kings.

Gupta Inscriptions

§ 106. Under the Guptas Sanskrit has definitely become the language of epigraphy, at least in northern India.

At Vaishali has been found a seal inscribed with the name of Ghatotkachagupta, father of Chandragupta I according to the genealogies given by the later Guptas. But the epigraphy of the Guptas really begins with Samudragupta. Relating to him we have an inscription at Eran (Airikina), and more especially a posthumous panegyric of great importance inscribed on the Asoka pillar originally erected at Kaushambi and taken to Allahabad (see §§ 92, 218). Of Chandragupta II we have two inscriptions in caves, at Udayagiri in the region of Bhilsa (not to be confused with the Udayagiri in Orissa, see § 100), one at Sanchi in the same area, one at Mathura and one at Garva near Allahabad. Moreover he is probably the king referred to merely as Chandra on the iron pillar of Mihrauli (see §§ 87, 302). This inscription, however, has been related to Chandragupta I, to Chandravarman of Malva, and to another Chandravarman of Bengal. Still other identifications have been suggested. We have four inscriptions from the time of Kumaragupta, and five from the time of Skandagupta. The most recent of these last is dated 146 (465 A. D.). There are also many from the reigns of the later Guptas, in particular that of Matrivishnu under Budhagupta (see § 284). There is a copper plate from Damodarpur dating from 543 or 553 A. D. under a Gupta, and another from Gunaighar or south-eastern Bengal, of 507 A. D., under Vainyagupta, who is perhaps the king whose name, lost through deterioration, ought to appear on the Damodarpur plate (R. Basak). A number of the vassals and successors of the great Guptas are known only from inscriptions of their time or in their memory (see § 285). An inscription of Adityasena, a Gupta of Magadha, found at Aphsad, is in characters of the type wrongly called *kutila*. At Mandasor in eastern Malva there have been found important inscriptions of Yashodharman (see § 293), of which one is dated 589 of the Malava (533 A. D.) and has contributed indirectly to the establishment of the date at which the Gupta era begins (Fleet).

Inscriptions of the Huns

§ 107. We have no inscriptions directly due to the Huns, but we have some relating to Indian princes subject to them : one at Eran by Dhanyavishnu under Toramana (see § 291),

and another at Gwalior under Mihirakula, due to a certain Matricheta who had a temple built to the Sun.

North Indian Inscriptions after the Guptas

§ 108. These are mainly charters of donations. They are often the only sources from which we know about the kings and their succession. Those of the kings of Valabhi are among the most important (see § 295). They are dated according to an era which is confused with that of the Guptas. Of the great emperor Harshavardhana we have only one copper seal, found at Sonpat in east Punjab, and two copper plates, one from Madhuban in the Azamgarh district north of Banaras, and the other from Bhanskera near Shahjahanpur. They are dated respectively 25 and 22 of the era of Harsha (605-6 A. D.), *i.e.* 631 and 628 A. D., and contain the same text with some variations. It was during the reign of Harshavardhana that the Chinese inscriptions at Bodh Gaya were made by the ambassadors whom he had received from China (see § 303). Buddhist pilgrims from many other countries also came to Bodh Gaya. In 269 (588 A. D.) a Singhalese monk Mahanaman left two Sanskrit inscriptions there. This Mahanaman has been identified (S. Levi) with the Singhalese monk of the same name sent by Meghavanna from Ceylon to Samudragupta (see § 283), and this compels us to reckon the date, 269, of the inscription as that of an era other than the Gupta. But the type of writing of the inscriptions indicates a date lower than the period of Samudragupta and agrees with the date obtained by referring the figure to the Gupta era. Thus the author of the inscriptions must be a different person with the same name as the envoy of Meghavanna (V. Smith). Without dates but probably of about the same period are some inscribed bricks found at Gopalpur in south-west Gwalior, the writing on which is very like that which must have served as the model for the Tibetan writing.

Inscriptions in Nepal

§ 109. It is necessary to give the Nepal inscriptions a separate place among those of the north. They are numerous, and we possess them from almost all periods from the Vth century down to our own time. The earliest have been studied especially by Bhagvanlal Indraji and S. Levi. The most ancient is that on the pillar of Changu Narayan (496 A. D.). Up to the IXth century the dates are given in the era called the Lichchhavi of 110 A. D. (S. Levi). After that

follows the era of 878 A. D., which has been used down to the present day.

Mediaeval Inscriptions of the North-West

§ 110. Mediaeval inscriptions were numerous in the north-west of India, but we possess only a few. In Kashmir, Kalhana states that he used them for his *Rajatarangini* (see § 20), but unhappily most of these have been destroyed. Saint Hubert Theroulde in 1839 could find only a small number, and Sir Aurel Stein at the end of the XIXth century found still fewer. The most noteworthy inscription, which however is mutilated, is that of queen Didda (end of the Xth century).

The state of Chamba, south of Kashmir, the region of the upper Ravi (ancient Iravati), has remained much richer in epigraphic monuments : more than 50 inscriptions from the pre-Muslim perior have been preserved. The earliest appear to date from the VIIth century (Vogel). Unfortunately they are of only secondary interest from the historical point of view.

In the Kangra district, which adjoins Chamba on the south-east, we have some prashasti of Baijnath dating from 1024 A. D.

Early Inscriptions in the South

§ 111. The most ancient inscriptions in the south are in characters approximating to those of Asoka's Brahmi, but some of them being written in Old Tamil, certain characters are added to represent the sounds lacking in Indo-Aryan (K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar). This is the case in the inscriptions of the beginning of the Ist century A.D. on pottery recently discovered at Virapatnam.

They are found in the Padya country, in caves in the mountainous regions. These places are traditionally called Panchapandavamalai, "mountains of the five Pandavas". They are supposed to have been inhabited by the Pandavas during the exile spoken of in the *Mahabharata*. The caves must have served as hermitages. Most of them contain beds cut out of the rock. Among the short inscriptions found in these caves, more than 20 are in Pali, according to Venkayya. Most of the others are in Old Tamil. Most of them merely give the names of those who excavated the caves, or the names of donors. The principal are those of Marugaltalai, Tirup-parangunram, Kalugumalai and Sittarnavasal in Pudukottai State. The name Kalugumalai, "mountain of vultures", is

almost equivalent to Gridhrakuta, "peak of vultures", the name, famous in Buddhist tradition, of a place near Rajagriha. If the Tamil name is a translation of the Sanskrit one, and if it was given to the hill by the first occupants of the caves, it is possible that they were Buddhists (K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar).

Early Insariptions in the Deccan

§ 112. The chief of these have already been menitoned in connection with the Andhrabhritya. There are a number of others. At Bhattiprolu, near the mouth of the Krishna, in the ruins of a Buddhist stupa, some caskets have been found (see § 87) bearing Prakrit inscriptoins in characters similar to those of the Asoka inscriptions but with some peculiarities.

Pallava Inscriptions

§ 113. The first inscriptions of the Pallava appear towards the end of the IIIrd century. They are charters on copper in Prakrit. One of these, found at Mayidavolu in the lower valley of the Krishna, is due to the Yuvamaharaja ("royal prince") Sivakhamdavamma (Skt. Sivaskandavarman) of the Pallava. Another, from the neighbourhood of Hirahadagalli, Bellary district, is also due to a Sivakharavamma, who must be the same person, now become "Emperor according to the Order", Dhammamaharajadhiraja, who made a donation of a garden situated in the Satahanirattha, that is a country formerly belonging to the Satakani. It is perhaps the same king again in whose reign a donation was made (in Guntur, to the south-west of the lower course of the Krishna) by the Yuvamaharaja Vijayabuddhavamma, husband of Charudevi, but here the name appears in the form Vijayakhandavamma (Skt. Vijayaskandavarman), and there is no conclusive proof that Sivaskandavarman had changed the Siva in his name for Vijaya.

Later on the charters on copper and the inscriptions on stone of the Pallava are in Sanskrit. We have in particular the charters of donation of the villages of Uruvupalli and of Mangalur, which give some fragments of genealogies. The first is due to Vishnugopavarman, son of Skandavarman (II), grand-son of Viravarman, great-grandson of Skandavarman (I), Dharma-yuvamaharaja in the 11th year of Maharaja Simhavarman (I). The second is due to Dharmamaharaja Simhavarman (II), son of Yuvaraja Vishnugopa, grandson of Skandavarman (II) and great-grandson of Viravarman. It follows from these data that Vishnugopa, though Yuvaraja, did not reign or was only a

viceroy, that the reigning king in his time was not of his line, but that his family took power with his son Simhavarman II. This is an example of the exact historical information which epigraphic sources can supply.

A number of later inscriptions give fuller genealogies : for example the inscription at Vayalur, on a pillar, gives after some mythical names those of 36 predecessors of Narasimhavarman II (690-715 A. D.). Some inscriptions are fakes, but these can generally be recognised, since their style of writing does not correspond with their supposed period. The genealogies which they supply are to be received with much caution, though they may reproduce traditional lists. A Sanskrit inscription at Amaravati, which has the peculiarity of reading from bottom to top, gives some genealogical data.

Chalukya Inscriptions

§ 114. A charter of donation at Altem, in the Kolhapur district, purports to emanate from Pulakesin I, but bears the date 411 saka, *i.e*N 489 A. D., which is about 60 years earlier than the real date of that king. Thus this charter is a forgery. It is not the only one of that kind, but happily some are above suspicion. One at Badami is dated the 5th year of Mangalesha Ranavikranta and the year Siddhartha of the cycle of Brihaspati, which corresponds to 525 Saka or 603-4 A. D., and it gives a genealogy of the first Chalikyas (sic). We have many inscriptions from the time of the greatest of the Chalukyas, Pulakesin II, in particular one at Aihole dated 556 Saka (634-5 A. D.) which commemorates the building of a Jain temple. It is due to the poet Ravigirti (see § 308), who compares himself to Kalidas and Bharavi.

A number of the inscriptions of the eastern Chalukyas of Badami are in Kannada or in two languages, Sanskrit and Kannada. They are found together with those of various local dynasties, and are followed chronologically in the west of the Deccan by those of the Chalukyas of Kalyani. In the east there are inscriptions of the eastern Chalukyas, preceded by some of less important kings. One of these is Vijayanandivarman, king of Vengi, between the lower Godavari and the lower Krishna, in the Andhra country proper. A Sanskrit charter on copper, this was formerly considered by Burnell to date from the IVth century and to be one of the most ancient and most important palaeographical monuments of the south. In this eastern region the lower inscriptions are some in Sanskrit and some in Telugu.

Mediaeval Inscriptions of the South

§ 115. The inscriptions of the Tamil kingdoms of the Chola, Pandya and Chera are relatively late, although there are some ancient ones, whose interpretation still presents problems, especially from the Pandya country (see § 111). They are mostly in Tamil, and some in Sanskrit and Tamil. Those of the Chola are numerous, especially from the Xth century onward, and those of the Pandya and Chera from the XIIIth century.

Ceylon Inscriptions

§ 116. The epigraphy of Ceylon is rich, and it begins with some ancient documents in characters similar to those of Asoka. The earliest go back to the Ist century B.C. Among the most ancient are those of Tonigala in the central region. They commemorate the gift of a pond to the Buddhist clergy by the great king (Maharaja) Gamini Abaya, son of Tisa, son of Abaya. This Gamini Abaya must be the Abhaya Vattagamani of the chronicles (see § 276). They bear the figure 213, which must be their date counted from the introduction of Buddhism into Ceylon : thus their date is 29 B. C. The later dates, which are common from the XIIth century onward, are usually given according to the era of the Nirvana (543 B. C.). The great majority of these inscriptions are in Old Singhalese, which tends as they approach the modern period to approximate to modern Singhalese. They are thus of great importance for the study of the formation of that language and its historical grammar. Some inscriptions are in Tamil. They belong to the XIth century, the period when Polonnaruva, then the capital, was taken by the Tamils under the Chola king Rajaraja, but Tamil was used again in a Buddhist inscription at Polonnaruva under Vijayabahu I, despite the fact that he had expelled the Tamils from the island. A large number of Singhalese inscriptions are very short, little more than a name followed by some indication of a gift.

Religious Inscriptions

§ 117. It is necessary to give a separate place to Indian religious inscriptions, in whatever place they are found. They are one of the chief elements of interest in Indian epigraphy. Many of those which have been mentioned for their value as historical documents are religious inscrpitions. They commemorate the successes of various religions or of reform movements, and so constitute evidence of the extension of these religions at the epoch in question. Thus the inscriptions of Harsha prove

the existence of a religious syncretism in which the solar cult played an important part, and they mark an epoch in its appearance (see § 130). The greater number of inscriptions have yet to be made use of from this point of view.

They contain much valuable information on the sects. The group which has been most carefully collected is that relating to Jainism. Jain epigraphy is rich, and has been specially studied by Guerinot. Known Jain inscriptions numbered 850 in 1908, and have greatly increased since then. A large proportion give lists of high priests (*suri*), heads of schools (*ganin*), masters (*acharya*) or professors (*upadhyaya*). They enable us to enter into the detail of Jain life.

Finally, inscriptions which commemorate pious foundations give us information on the quality or rank of the donors, and on the social organisation of the community and the period to which they refer. Sometimes the information which we thus obtain is very detailed.

Thus a Tamil Vaishnava inscription from the time of Virarajendra at Tirumukkudal, near Madras, not only shows that a hospital was founded there but tells us its resources and furnishes lists of the drugs and the foods administered.

Inscriptions in Indo-China and Indonesia in Indian Languages

§ 118. The Sanskrit epigraphy of the Far East is extremely rich, particularly that of Cambodia. It cannot be considered apart from Indian epigraphy because it proves the expansion of India in the East and thus gives us important material not only on the history of Indo-China or Indonesia but on the history of India itself. Moreover, in addition to the fact that in virtue of the language used the Sanskrit epigraphy of the Far East belongs to the realm of Indian studies, palaeographically the inscriptions are related to those of India, the changes in Indian fashions being transmitted, often very quickly, to Indo-China. However, there is a material difference, noticeable at first sight, between the Sanskrit inscriptions of India and those of the Far East, of Cambodia in particular : the characters in the latter are more carefully, regularly and elegantly traced than in India. The characters are also often given special ornamentation.

(A) Champa

§ 119. The earliest Sanskrit inscriptions in Indo-China are in Champa (the east coast of Annam, pronounced Tiampa). That of Vo-chanh, a religious charter of a king descended from

king Srimara, is not dated but belongs palaeographically to the IInd or IIIrd century A. D. (Finot). It contains *vasantatilaka* and *shardulavikridita* metres. There are a number of others at various dates up to the XIIth century, together with inscriptions in the indigenous language, Old Cham (pronounced Tiam). The most important are on rock at Cho'-dinh (Vth century), on stelae at Mi-Son (Vth-XIth centuries), and in the sanctuary of Po Nagar at Nha Trang (VIIIth to XIth centuries). They have enabled Bergaigne to begin the reconstruction of the history of ancient Champa and to carry it a considerable way.

(B) Cambodia

§ 120. The study of the Cambodian inscriptions is an important part of Sanskrit epigraphy, because of the great number of inscriptions composed in Sanskrit in the Khmer country. These inscriptions are interspersed with others in Old Khmer, and many are bilingual. They extend from the VIth to the XIIIth century approximtely. After that period the epigraphy becomes more purely Khmer. Then at the beginning of the XIVth century inscriptions in Pali begin to appear. The earliest of this type is a royal inscription of Vat Kuk Khpos of 1230 Saka (1308 A. D.).

The Cambodian inscriptions in the Khmer kingdom bear witness to a profound knowledge of Sanskrit and its literature. The literary allusions they contain are often useful as confirming the existence of certain Sanskrit works at those dates. It was thus that the antiquity of Sushruta as a medical writer was confirmed by the discovery of a reference to him in an inscription of the IXth century, before the fact was established more exactly.

They are important above all for the history of the Khmer kingdom. The greater number are panegyrics of kings (*prashasti*), but there are also charters of foundations, and generally the various types of Indian inscriptions are represented. The language often makes use of words for which there is little authority in the classical literature, but they are found in the indigenous Sanskrit dictionaries. The inscriptions are generally in verse of learned metres. Their dates are expressed in symbolic numbers and refer to the Saka era.

(C) Indonesia

§ 121. The most ancient Sanskrit inscriptions in Indonesia have been found at Kutei in the island of Borneo and in the western part of Java. They certainly go back as far as the

Vth and VIth centuries. At Changal (Kedu province, Java) a Sanskrit instription is dated 654 Saka (732 A.D.). The characters of an inscription at Kalasan (768 A.D.) are related to the scripts of north India ; but as a whole the Sanskrit epigraphy of the East Indian islands is closely related to that of Indo-China and belongs to the south Indian group.

(e) Numismatics

General

§ 122. Coins by their legends and their figures are true historical monuments. They are often the only evidence of the existence of a reign ; they are always significant evidence. Like inscriptions, though more briefly, coins indicate the sovereigns under whom they were issued, and the titles they gave themselves. The iconography of coins gives us information about the official raligions. The places where they abound mark the centres from which they were issued, or establish the existence of commercial relations between the countries of issue and the countries where they are found. The details of coinage prove imitation and influences which establish the existence of cultural relations. Within a given series, a comparison of the different coins is sometimes sufficient by itself to establish the chronological order of their issue and thus to fix or to confirm the order of the kings of a dynasty. It sometimes happens that the history of a dynasty's coinage is all of its history that we know.

The Appearance of Money in India

§ 123. The date of the first appearance of money in India is not known with certainty. It is possible that the seals found at Mohenjo-Daro are money, though since most of them are in steatite and not in the precious metals, it is unlikely. It would have been a fiduciary currency, with an arbitrarily fixed value. In the ancient Vedic texts, whenever allusion is made to offerings or to the fee paid by the sacrificer, it is a matter of a certain number of cows. It is permissible to suppose that in order to make business easier, an equivalence was established between the cow as the unit of value and a certain quantity of gold or other precious material. But the existence of coins is not directly attested. To refer to precious things given as payments or presents, the Brahmanas, the Upanishads and the Sutras sometimes use words which at later times designate coins (nishka, suvarna). Some claim, without proof, that in the ancient texts these words already bore the meaning of classical times ; others claim, with no more proof, that they did not yet have such

meanings. These references give no help in deciding the question of the date of the appearance of money, since they tend to be interpreted in the light of ideas as to that date, formed before the evidence is considered. Decourdemanche thinks that the first monetary system of India was copied from that of the Achemenians ; D. R. Bhandarkar questions this.

Various Kinds of Coins

§ 124. The Indian coinage uses various metals and alloys : gold, silver, copper, billon, potin,* lead and nickel. Further, for small change use was made of the shell of Cypraea moneta, called kauri or kauris (Skt. kaparda, Marathi, kavadi, Hindi, kauri), generally valued at 80 to the copper *pana*.

Principal Systems of Weights

§ 125. The principal system of weights in use from the time of the earliest coinge is that set forth in Manu (VIII, 132-137), but it was subject to considerable variations at different times and places, in the values of the units.

According to Manu, the smallest unit of weight is the grain of dust visible in the sunbeam. 8 of these grains = 1 liksha. 3 liksha = 1 grain of black mustard. 3 of these = 1 grain of white mustard. 6 of these = 1 grain of barley. It is the grain of barley which is the theoretical unit of weight, but though Manu specifies that he means an average grain, others start out from a big grain or a small one, which may stand one to the other in the ratio of two to one. The usual unit is one taken to be 3 times the barley grain, viz. the *krishnala,* the grain of Abrus precatorius, called in the "Arthasastra" *gunja,* and elsewhere *raktika* (Hindi *ratti*). This *krishnala* is still in use among Indian jewellers.

Gold Coins

§ 126. The gold coins were as follows :

					weight (gold)		in grammes
					average	big	small
krishnala				1 =	0.1185	0.1481	0.07405
masha			1	5 =	0.592	0.740	0.370
suvarna (1 karsha in weight)		1	16	80 =	9.480	11.848	5.924
pala	1	4	64	320 =	37.920	47.392	23.696
dharana	1 10	40	640	3,200 =	379,200	473.920	236.960

The system of the *Arthasastra* (II, 19) is the same.

* Billon and Potin : alloys both containing copper and silver,

To these weights and the corresponding coins must be added others outside Manu's system (see *Mitakshara* on *Yajnavalkyasmriti*, I, 362-365). The nishka weighed on the average 2.37 gms., equivalent to 1/5 of the big suvarna, 1/4 of the average suvarna, and 2/5 of the small suvarna. Its theoretical value was thus more constant than that of the suvarna, but a nishka equal in value to 1/2 suvarna is also known, and also others. Moreover sometimes 5 suvarna make 1 pala, and sometimes 20 masha 1 suvarna. At a relatively late date the dinara same into use, a name borrowed from the Latin (denarius), through the Greek denarion, which did not always mean a definite coin but referred to silver money in general.

Silver Coins

§ 127. The silver coins were as follows :

					weight (grammes)		
					average	big	small
krishnala				1 =	0.1185	0.1481	0.0740
raupya mashaka			1	2 =	0.237	0.2962	0.1481
dharana or silver purana		1	16	32 =	3.792	4.792	2.3696
silver shatamana	1	10	160	320 =	37.92	47.392	23.696

Copper Coins

karshapana = 80 krishnala = 9.480, 11.848, 5.924 gms.

§ 128. The karshapana is thus equivalent in weight of copper to the suvarna, and is thus connected with the system of gold coins. It follows the variations of the suvarna, being equivalent sometimes to 16 and sometimes to 20 masha.

Early Punch-marked Coins

§ 129. The most ancient coins that we know are in silver or in copper alloys. They are segments of small metal bars, flattened but still fairly thick, which were cut off in regular lengths. They are thus rectangular or square. We possess some with one or two corners broken off but still of average weight. Evidently they clipped those which were too heavy, sending the clippings and the light coins back to the melting-pot. They are punch-marked on the obverse and sometimes on both the obverse and the reverse. The punch-marks are symbols, wheels, crosses, entwined snakes (caduceus), roses, animals ; nearly 300 such symbols have been found. A common design is a group of semi-circles arranged in a pyramidal form, which is interpreted as representing a reliquary

(*chaitya*). Punch-marked coins are found all over India. Their origin is uncertain. Their form resembles the Mohenjo-Daro seals ; on the other hand their weights are often nearly those of the Achemenian coins which were in use in the north-west in the VIth to IVth centuries B. C. Similar symbols are found on many Achemenian sigloi, shekels, (silver darics of 5.601 gms.). These are certainly the coins which were in use in the time of Alexander, since Quintus Curtius reports that Omphis (see § 190) offered him 80 talents of stumped silver (signati argenti). In the south only punch-marked globules of gold are found.

Cast Coins

§ 130. The cast conis are similar to the punch-marked coins as regards the sumbols they carry. They are generally in copper, rectangular or round, and they were habitually cast in moulds with several divisions, from which they emerged joined together in rows by tongues of metal. They were separated by breaking these tongues, but they are often found still held together in twos or threes. (Fig. 16).

Stamped Coins

§ 131. The techniques of stamping properly so called is similar to that of punch-marking, but instead of a punch which makes a pattern in depression, an engraved surface is used, which struck into the metal, softened by heat, produces an image in relief, like that of a seal on wax. Such coins may be stamped on one face or on both. (Fig. 1, 7, 8).

Local Coinages

§ 132. The symbols on punch-marked and stamped pieces vary, but particular designs are often found in specially large numbers in the same region. They are then regarded as characteristic of the coinage of that region or of its capital. The lion corresponds to Takshashila, a tree in a frame to Kaushambi, a cross with circles to Ujjayini. In addition, the legends in Brahmi which appear on some coins show the issuing authority, tribe or local confederation, king or merchant guild (Buhler). A stamped coin of Eran (eastern Malwa) carries the name of Dharmapala in Brahmi characters similar to those of Asoka but reversed and reading from right to left, showing that the coin was not so made by mistakes. (Fig. 1, 9). This coin marks the transition from the practice of disposing the symbols irregularly to one of grouping the symbols and legends in a systematic way (Rapson). In many cases in the north-west, legends in the Aramaeo-Indian or Kharoshthi script

replace those in Brahmi. Some coins carry a legend including the name of a tribe (*gana*) such as that of the Yaudheya or the

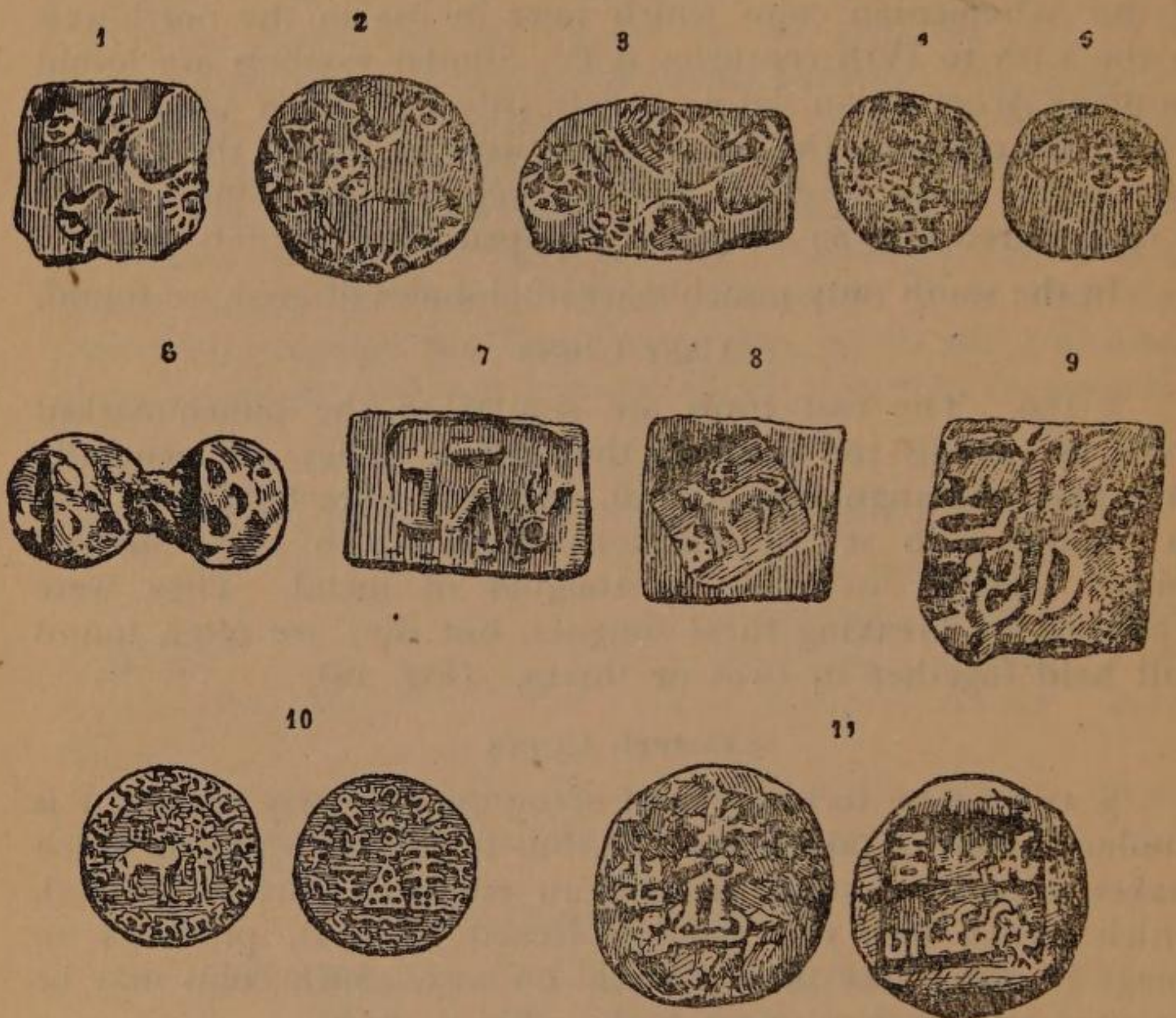


Fig. 1—Coins

1 to 5. Primitive punch-marked.
6. Cast coins.
7. Die-struck coins. Legend in Brahmi : *negama*.
8. Die-struck coin of Taxila.
9. Coin of Eran. inscription on the reverse : *dhamapala*.
10. Coin of Kuninda. Legend in Brahmi on the obverse, in characters Arameo-Indian on the reverse.
11. Phagunimita (Phalgunimitra).

Aajunayana : they are often called "tribal" coins, and this designation is extended to cover all coins of the same period of similar types, provided that their place of origin can be determined. The more general term "local" coins is preferable.

§ 133. Local coinages appear in the IVth and IIIrd centuries B. C., in larger numbers towards the Maurya period, and become abundant after the IInd century and in the Shunga period. One of the oldest appears to be that of Eran with the legend in Brahmi reversed, which can hardly be later than

the IIIrd century B.C. and may be earlier (Allan), and is in any case not far removed from the time of Asoka (middle of the IIIrd century).

They can be classified in several groups :

North-West

§ 134. In the Punjab they often bear legends in both the Aramaeo-Indian (kharoshthi) script and Brahmi. They are those of the Audumbara and the Kuluta, of the Kada, and the Kuninda (called Kulinda in literature),of the Rajanya, identified with the Kathaioi of Kshatriya or a group of these, the Trigarta and Yaudheya, of Takshashila (especially tokens of merchant guilds).

Central India

§ 135. In the Madhyadesha in the north a coinage particular to Almora (Kumaon) has been found. In the southwest we have the coins of the Malava and the Shibi, whose names correspond, according to the ancient Sanskrit geography in agreement with Alexander's histarians, who called them Malloi and Siboi, to peoples of the Punjab, and who are either peoples of the same name who live farther south, or tribes who may be supposed to have migrated southwards after Alexander's time, perhaps in the period of the second Greek invasion, or in that of the establishment of the Indo-Scythian kingdoms. In the same region of modern Rajasthan as the Malva and the Shibi are found coins of Ujjayini, the capital of eastern Malwa or Avanti, and those of Eran. But the principal group of local coins is that of Panchala (capital Ahichchhatra), of Kanyakubja, of Mathura and of Kaushambi. Coins originating in these four regions are inscribed with the names of kings who can for the most part be placed, judging from the script, in the IInd century B.C. Many of these king's names end in -mitra (or -mita in Prakrit), and in many instances the same name is found in two or three places : thus Agnimitra at Kaushambi and Panchala, Suryamitra at Panchala, Mathura and Kanyakubja, Vishnumitra at Mathura and Panchala, Brahmamitra at Kanyakubja and Mathura. Different kings may have had the same name, and in some instances the palaeographic characters of the legends show that two coins carrying the same name must belong to different epochs. Thus the same name corresponds to two different kings, as in the instance of Bahasatimita [Skt. Brihaspatimitra (Allan)]. But it is probable that in some instances coins from different places bearing the

same name derive from the same king, who reigned in two distinct but adjoining regions and ordered local coinages instead of unifying the coinage of his possessions. Several of the princes of the Panchala country whose names are known from

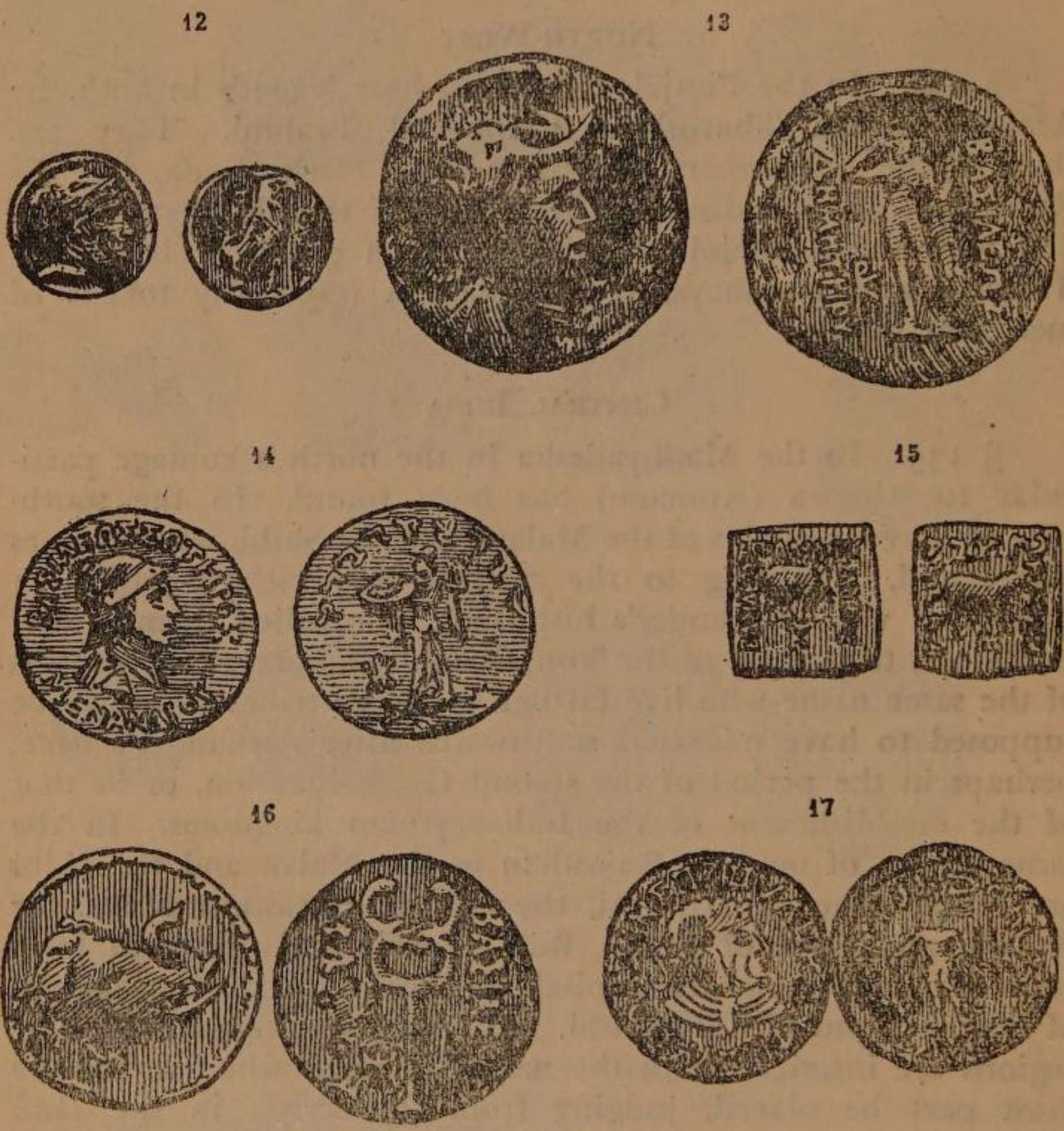


Fig. 2—Coins

12. Sophytes.
13. Demetrios.
14. Menander. Right inser. Aram.-Ind.
15. Apollodotus. Reverse inser. Aram.-Ind.
16. Maues.
17. Kujilakaphsa. Reverse inser. Aram.-Ind. and Figuration of Herakles.

their coins are identifiable with those of the Shunga dynasty of the Puranas (Rivett-Carnac, Jayaswal, Raychoudhuri). Allan contests these identifications, but Panchala and the neighbouring parts of Madhyadesha must have been under the effective domination of the shungas at the time when the coins in

question were issued. From Ayodhya we have coins bearing names in -mitra among others, but the names of these princes, which are no doubt those of a dynasty confined to Koshala, are not found on the coins of neighbouring places. We have no coins of this period from Videha or Magadha.

East and South

§ 136. East of Madhyadesha, at Puri in Orissa, are some later series of coins imitating the Indo-Scythian types. South of Madhyadesha two groups can be distinguished, one from Tripuri on the Narmada and the other of the Aparanta in the northern Konkan.

Indo-Greek Coins

§ 137. Greek coins were brought into north-west India at the time of Alexander's invasion, and more particularly during the great Greek invasion and the establishment of the Indo-Greek kingdoms. From the brief period of Alexander's presence we possess only a few coins of doubtful origin, but one coin of a Sophytes who has been identified with the Sopheites who made submission to Alexander (see § 192), imitates an Athenian type in replacing the owl on the reverse by a cock, and was stamped on the model of the Seleucid coins shortly after Alexander's expedition.

On the other hand the Indo-Greek Bactrian coins are numerous. Many of them are of high artistic quality. They are of great historical importance. Many of the Indo-Greek kings are known only from them, and numismatics is thus one of the essential sources for the history of the Greek dominion in India. The Bactrian coins bear only a Greek legend, but from the time of Demetrios, who made the first Bactrian conquests in India, coins appear which bear on the obverse a Greek legend, and on the reverse a Prakrit translation of the same legend in Armaeo-Indian Kharoshthi script. These legends consist essentially of the name of a king in the genitive, usually accompanied by one or more titles. For example we have Basileos Megalou Eukratidou and Maharajasa Evukratidasa, "Of the great king Eukratides". But on the coins of Pantaleon and Agathokles the common Indian characters replace the Aramaeo-Indian Kharoshthi, because these coins have as models primarily Indian coins. A certain number of these coins with double legends, Greek and Indian, are square after the Indian mode. The stamp imitates the Hellenic model, but Indian motifs and attributes and figures of elephants often

appear. Moreover the weights of the coins follow the Greek standard down to Heliokles, who begins to replace it by the Persian standard which was in use in India.

Fig. 3—Coins

18. Vima-Kadphises. At the righthand Herakles.
19. Vima-Kadphises. Siva with the bull Nandin.
20. Kanishka. On the reverse the Buddha
21. Andhrabhrtya—Gotamiputa Vilivayakura.
22. — — — Pulumayi Vasithiputa.
23. Gondophares.

Saka and Pehlava Coins

§ 138. The earliest Saka coins have been found in the Punjab and are those of Maues, who is the first king in India to call himself "king of kings" (Basileos Basileon Megalou Mauou, and on the reverse, in Aramaeo-Indian Kharoshthi script, Rajadhirajasa Mahatasa Moasa). Henceforth most of the coins of other princes carry this title. The types of coins are imitated from their Greek and Indian predecessors, and,

for the Pehlava kings, the Arsacid Parthians. The Saka princes are usually represented on foot or on horseback ; the Parthians, like Gondophares, in effigy. The coins of Sanabares are completely Arsacid in type, and are not found in India proper but are confined to Seistan. The reverse generally bears the figure of a Greek or Indian divinity. These coins are not all struck by kings : some emanate from their satraps or " strategoi". The principal satraps are those of Mathura, notably Rajavula (see § 241), whose name is sometimes inscribed in Brahmi characters, though the majority of the other coins have one legend in Armaeo-Indian Kharoshthi and one in Greek. In the Greek legend the sigma Σ instead of the usual form often assumes that of C, or the square form[common on the Arsacid coins.

§ 139. Some have classified with the Saka coins some pieces found in Kashgaria which bear a legend in Kharoshthi and some Chinese characters indicating the weight or value of the coin. They appear to belong at least to some eastern Iranian peoples related to the Saka.

Kushan Coins

§ 140. Some of the Kushan coins continue the style of those of the Saka, whom they replaced. Some, bearing no name but a title, Basileus Basileon Soter Megas, seem to emanate not from an "unknown king" but rather from a viceroy or a series of strategoi who filled the gap between the Saka and the Kushana (see § 247). The coins of these kings are mainly gold or copper. In this period silver is uncommon. Further, the Roman gold standard was debased by the trade with India. According to Pliny, in his time India absorbed 50 million sesterces from the Roman Empire (VI, 101). Thus we find large gold coins corresponding to the double stater (Vimakadphises), the stater, aureus or denarius (dinar), which are more common, weighing 8.035 gms. The kings are often represented on foot, with long mantles widening at the bottom, and big boots. The legends are in Greek or in Iranian in Greek characters with the addition of a P with the vertical stroke prolonged upward to represent the sound sh. The typical Iranian legend is : Shaonano Shao (name) Koshano, " Name, king of kings of the Kusha ". There is often in addition a legend in Armaeo-Indian Kharoshthi or common Indian scripts. The divinities shown are borrowed from all the pantheons known to the Kushans, Indian, Greek and Iranian (see § 251).

Some later coins, found mostly in Bactriana, show Sassanian characteristics, either because they come from Sassanian

princes who had conquered Kushan territories, or because the late Kushan coinage had come under the influence of the great Persian monarchy near by.

Coins of the Kshatrapa of Ujjayini

§ 141. The coins of the Ujjayini satraps are imitations of the Greek. They are generally round and of small size, similar to the hemidrachma. They carry the effigy of the sovereign on the obverse and some symbols on the reverse, in particular the indigenous symbol called the chaitya, formed of semi-circles grouped in the shape of a pyramid. The legends are at first in Prakrit, inscribed in common Indian and sometimes in Aramaeo-Indian Kharoshthi, up to Chastana, after whom the Aramaeo-Indian Kharoshthi disappears. Very soon, especially from the time of Rudradaman, the Prakrit used becomes more and more Sanskritised, and eventually is replaced by pure Sanskrit on some coins of Damaysada, the son of Rudradaman. From Jivadaman, their coins carry mainly dates.

Andhra Coins

§ 142. The Andhra coins are similar to those of the period of the Shunga (early local coinage), in that they are purely Indian, but differ from them in composition. They are made in billon or lead, and bear as symbols a bow and arrow, a chaitya, a tree, a swastika, or the symbol associated with Ujjayini. Some have a boat with two masts. Their legends are in the Andhra script. They are found roughly between Malwa in the north and Konkan and Madras in the south. (See Fig. 3—Coins : 21, 22).

Early Coinage in the South

§ 143. Apart from primitive coins and punch-marked gloubles of gold, coins have been found in the far south which are attributed to the ancient Pandyas. They are without legends, and bear symbols which we seldom have any means of interpreting, for the Indian science of heraldry is yet to be created. They are generally square, like the northern coins before foreign influences came in, and stamped on one side or both. One group of them are of material similar to the Andhra coins. It does not appear that there developed an important local coinage inspired by imported types of coins. Imported coins which are found in great abundance, were used directly, and sometimes copied exactly. These are Roman coins, of which two or three thousand, at least, have been

found ; they are mostly coins of Augustus or Tiberius. Thus the export of large amounts of Roman money in the Ist century A.D., mentioned by Pliny, had as its destination principally the south of India. It was carried by sea, and whereas the Roman coins brought to India in this way could have reached the centre and the north only by the west coast ports like Barygaza,

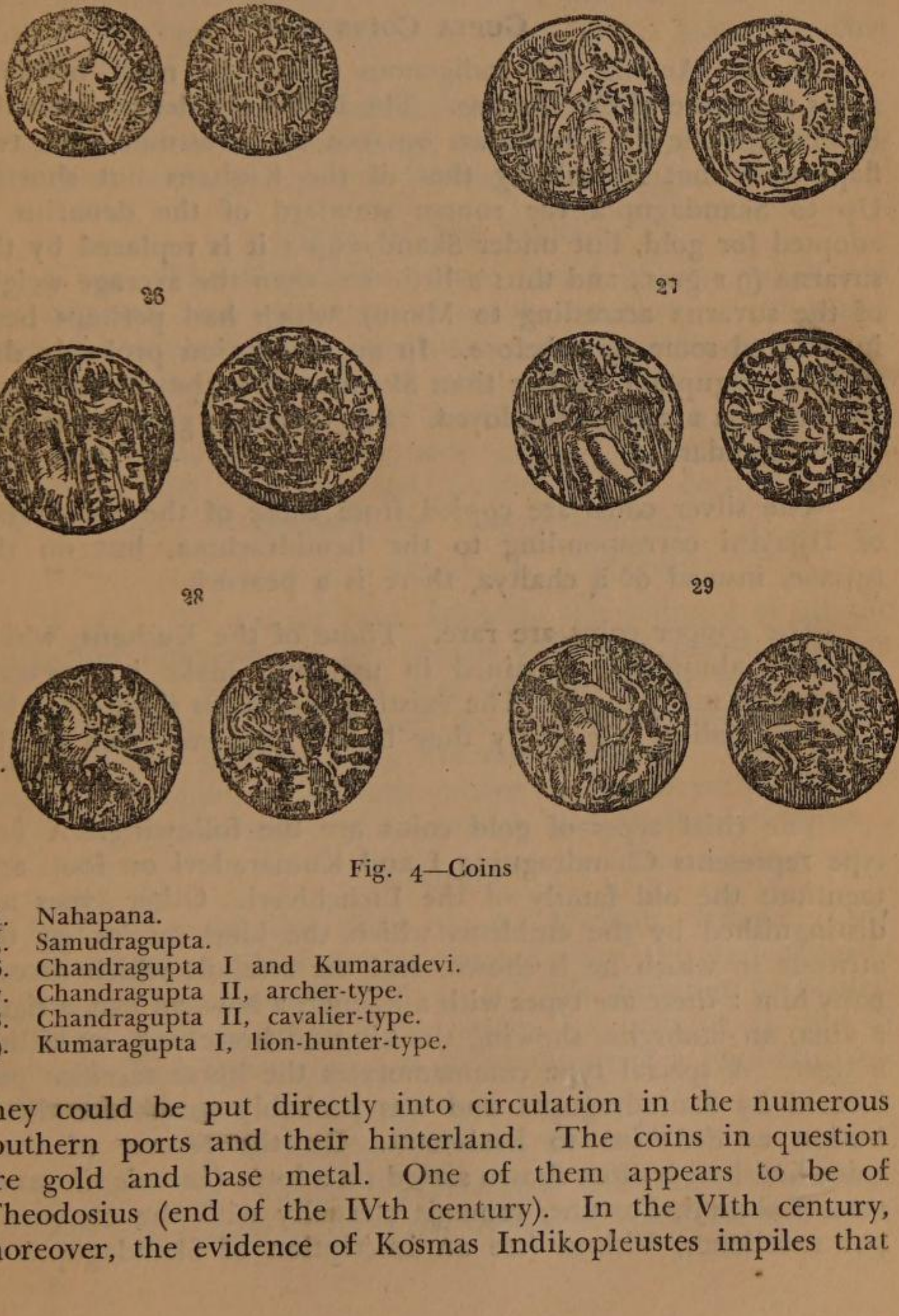


Fig. 4—Coins

24. Nahapana.
25. Samudragupta.
26. Chandragupta I and Kumaradevi.
27. Chandragupta II, archer-type.
28. Chandragupta II, cavalier-type.
29. Kumaragupta I, lion-hunter-type.

they could be put directly into circulation in the numerous southern ports and their hinterland. The coins in question are gold and base metal. One of them appears to be of Theodosius (end of the IVth century). In the VIth century, moreover, the evidence of Kosmas Indikopleustes impiles that

Roman money was still accepted in India and Ceylon. It should be noticed that the adoption by India of foreign money is quite naturally explained by the fact that India, exporting much more than she imported from the west, received western coins in payment and sent out hardly any of her own, and accordingly, in order to facilitate these transactions, was interested in making her own coins conform to the standards of the imported coins.

Gupta Coins

§ 144. Among the indigenous coins the most brilliant series are those of the Guptas. The first types derive from the Kushans. The king is shown on foot in a costume with two flaps somewhat resembling that of the Kushans but shorter. Up to Skandagupta the roman standard of the denarius is adopted for gold, but under Skandagupta it is replaced by the suvarna (9.2 gms., and thus a little less than the average weight of the suvarna according to Manu), which had perhaps been introduced some time before. In an inscription probably due to Kumaragupta I, earlier than Skandagupta, the terms dinara and suvarna are both employed. But there are great variations in the standard.

The silver coins are copied from those of the Kshatrapas of Ujjayini corresponding to the hemidrachma, but on the reverse, instead of a chaitya, there is a peacock.

The copper coins are rare. Those of the Kushans, which are very abundant, remained in use, and make it necessary to produce many more. The existing specimens show considerable originality. Generally they bear a representation of the Garuda.

The chief types of gold coins are the following. A first type represents Chandragupta I and Kumaradevi on foot, and mentions the old family of the Lichchhavi. Other types are distinguished by the emblems which the king carries, by the attitude in which he is shown, and the symbols which accompany him : there are types with a banner, a bow, an axe, a tiger, a vina, an umbrella, showing the king on horseback, or killing a tiger. A special type commemorates the horse sacrifice performed by Samudragupta and was probably struck for distribution as *dakshina* to Brahmans. On the reverse of these coins Lakshmi is often shown seated on a lotus (*kamalanilayana*), since Lakshmi, Fortune, remanis eternally with the conqueror par excellence, Vishnu (see an inscription of Skandagupta at

Junagarh). For Vishnu is the greatest of the Adityas, and by their surname the Guptas are of the Adityas.

The legends are in Sanskrit, in the Gupta characters. They are often very long, in verse (meter, *upagiti*), and written in shortened form, the vocalising signs being partly omitted. Many of them can be restored, for example : *Samara shata vitata vijayo jitaripur ajito divam jayati,*—"victor in more than a hundred combats, his enemies defeated, undefeated (himself), he conquers the sky". The royal title habitually used is *Maharajadhiraja,* "emperor", literally "great king, supreme among kings".

The Gupta coins influenced considerably those of the contemporary or satellite kings, such as those of Valabhi, the Maukhari of Magadha, and Shashanka of Bengal.

Coins of the Huns

§ 145. The Hephthalite Huns had a coinage which was not original, and specimens of which are rare. It is copied from the contemporary Sassanian coins, sometimes even restamped on the same piece of metal. The effigies of the Hun kings are crude. The legends are in Pehlevi, or a much modified Greek alphabet, sometimes called "Sindo-Hephthalite" (Specht). This alphabet has recently been deciphered by Ghirshman. The language he finds is Iranian.

Coins of the Mediaeval Kingdoms

§ 146. We are far from knowing the coinages of all the important kingdoms of the Indian mediaeval period, and we do not know which power was responsible for each of the coins we possess. In some cases the same types remained in use for very long periods under different dynasties. That is the case, for example, in Kashmir, where an Indo-Scythian type of coins was reproduced right down to the Muslim invasion.

Kashmir

§ 147. From the time of the Varman dynasty (IXth century A.D.) the data of numismatics and of the *Rajatarangini* agree as to the succession of kings. We have, in particular, the very crude coins of queen Didda. A coin of Harsha of Kashmir (XI-XIIth century) is an imitation of a southern coin (see § 152).

Udabhanda (Und or Ohind)

§ 148. The district of Udabhanda has yielded a number of silver and copper coins of Samantadeva, Spalapati and other

kings of the dynasty called the Shahi of Kabul. This family were finally destroyed in 1022 A.D. by Mahmud of Ghazni at Udabhanda, where they had taken refuge after having lost possession of Kabul in 872 A.D. King Samanta and others of the dynasty were known to al-Biruni.

Nepal

§ 149. The earliest coins of Nepal are in copper, and are imitated from those of the Yaudheya, which themselves derive from those of the Kushana. They are stamped with the "stamp of Shri Mana", Shrimananka (end of the IVth and beginning of the Vth century A.D.), and this legend in *-anka* recalls certain Gupta legends (S. Levi). We also have some coins of Amshuvarman (VIIth century). The greater number bear the name of Pashupati.

Coins of Central India and of the Gurjaras

§ 150. The coins attibuted to the Pala of Magadha are unfortunately uncertain. The same is the case with the coins of Kanyakubja ascribed to Harsha, but the silver coins from the same place bearing the words Shrimad Adivaraha, "The glorious primordial boar" (avatar of Vishnu), emanate from Bhojadeva (end of the IXth century), and we possess sets of coins of the Tomara and Gahadavala dynasties which ruled Kanyakubja. At Delhi and Ajmer the Chahumanas left a coinage which remained in use for some time after them under the Delhi Sultans. South of Madhyadesha the Kalachuri and the Chandela also left noteworthy coins.

Many of the mediaeval coins of north India have legends in big characters occupying the whole of one face.

Mediaeval Coins of the South

§ 151. Some part of the mediaeval coins of the south are imitations of northern coins, as is proved by the legends, which are often in the script of central India. But others are of types peculiar to the south, in particular the spherical and cup-shaped gold coins. These are generally without legends, but some types always have a legend in Nagari. The earliest are not stamped, but are marked with a number of separate punches. The centre may be occupied by a stylised lotus : hence these are called *padmatanka* ; or by a boar (*varaha*), representing the Boar avatar of Vishnu and characteristic of the Chalukya. These were therefore called *varaha* (Tamil *varagam*), a name which came eventually to be applied to all gold coins weighing about 3.25 to 3.90 gms. Since Portuguese times coins

of this weight have been called pagoda. The pagoda and often the half-pagoda were also called pon, "gold", in Tamil, and *honnu* in Kannada, and the word has passed into Hindi in

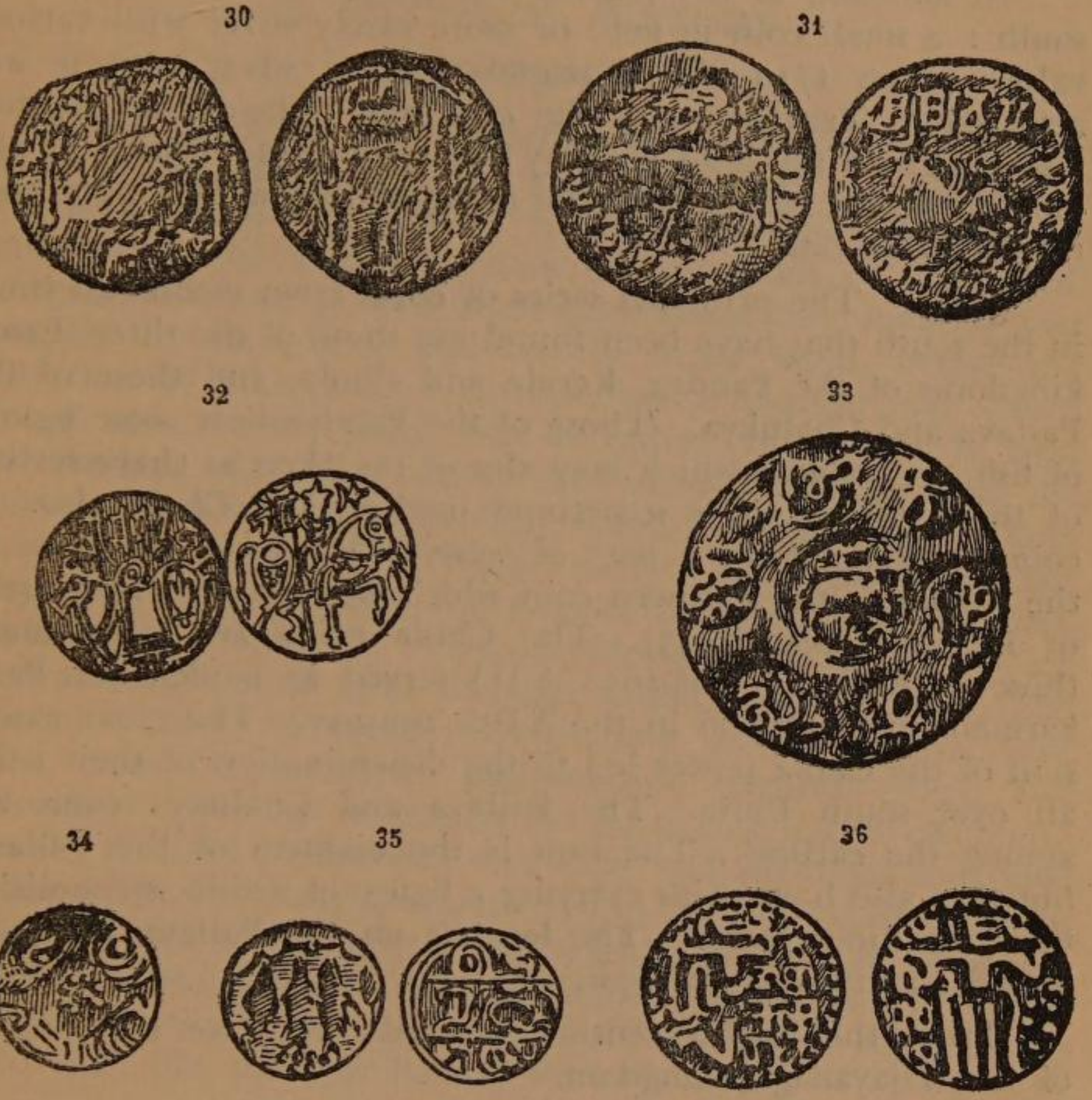


Fig. 5—Coins

30. Huns—Mihirakula.
31. Nepal—Amsuvarman.
32. Udabhanda, Und (Samantadeva).
33. Eastern Chalukya—Rajaraja.
34. Padmatanka ("Coin of the lotus").
35. Pandya.
36. Ceylon—Parakramavahu.

the form *hun*. The weight of the pagoda does not correspond to that of the *suvarna* in Manu, nor to any coin of the Greek or Roman systems. But in the Tamil country the commonest unit of weight for gold is the *manjadi*, the seed of Adenanthera Pavonina, which is equal to two *kunrimani* or seeds of Abrus Precatorius, that is to two *krishnala* of Manu. Thus though apparently different, the system is related to that of Manu.

The systems of the south differ from Manu's by using different multiples : the pagoda is 32 *kundrimani,* while the *suvarna* of Manu is 80 krishnala.

In addition to the pagoda the *panam* was in use in the south : a small coin in gold or more rarely silver with various values (often 1/10 of the pagoda). As a silver coin it was replaced in Travancore by the *chakram.* The Tamil legends also designate the gold coin by the term *kashu,* which in the modern period has become the name of the small copper coin (anglicised as cash).

§ 152. The principal series of coins from mediaeval times in the south that have been found are those of the three Tamil kingdoms of the Pandya, Kerala and Chola, and those of the Pallava and Chalukya. Those of the Pandya bear some figures of fish, an emblem which may almost be taken as characteristic of them, though it is sometimes used by the Chola also. A coin of Kongudesha, a part of western Mysore subordinate to the Kerala, is the southern coin which was imitated by Harsha of Kashmir (see § 147). The Chola coins are important : those of Rajaraja (985-1035 A.D.) served as models for Parakarmabahu of Ceylon in the XIIth century. The great extension of the Chola power led to the dissemination of their coins all over south India. The Pallava and Chalukya coins are among the earliest. The lion is the emblem of the Pallava, but they also have coins carrying a figure of a ship, symbolising their maritime power. The legends on the Pallava coins are in old Kannada or Sanskrit.

From the XIVth century onwards we have many coins of the Vijayanagar kingdom.

Coins of the Muslim Kingdoms

§ 153. The Muslims, like the other foreign invaders who set up kingdoms in India before them, coined money wherever their power extended. The series of their coins are numerous, rich and often beautiful, in particular those of the Delhi dynasties, of the Moghul emperors, and of the Sultanates of Bengal, Malwa, Kashmir and Madurai. Some of these coins however belong to the modern period.

Because of the religious ban on the representation of living things, especially of the human figures, these coins do not show the sovereign. The legends, in Arabic characters and later in Nagari, generally cover both faces of the coin, and are accompanied or replaced by floral or geometrical designs.

2. POLITICAL HISTORY

Preliminary

§ 154. India is often regarded as a separate world, which has remained apart from the general current of civilisation. This is due to the fact that it is a peninsula cut off from the continent by the mightiest chain of mountains in the world. However, no country has been more frequently invaded and occupied by foreigners, and on the other hand, before the expansion of Islam and of Europe, no civilisation had spread abroad more widely than that of India. In fact, it is most characteristic of Indian history that in spite of geography the country has not been isolated by mountain and ocean. India has been invaded by the Aryans—not to speak of still earlier peoples—by the Persians, the Greeks, the Saka, the Kushana, the Huns, the Arabs, the Turks, the Mongols and the Europeans. Central Asia, China (and through China, Japan), Tibet (and through Tibet, Mongolia), Indo-China and Indonesia have taken from her religions, philosophies, sciences, magic and technology. She has welcomed the Parsi and Jewish communities, she received Christianity very early, and Islam has flourished in her midst for many centuries. If in spite of all this she has preserved and spread abroad an original civilisation, it is due not to her isolation but to her vitality. If she has preserved her own genius, it is not because of the absence of coflicting influences, but through having resisted them.

§ 155. Thus the total isolation of the Indian world is a myth, but its relative isolation from the European world was for a long time a fact. Alexander's expedition and the domination of western Asia by the Seleucids did not establish lasting contacts between India and Europe. First Sassanian Iran and the pre-Islamic Arab world, and then and more especially Islam itself, raised a barrier between them which cut off all but some slight influence filtering through to India and a few commercial products to Europe. It is this which led western historians for so long to regard India as isolated from general world history.

It is therefore a judgment influenced by a special point of view restricted to inhabitants of the west. India could with equal plausibility regard the history of Europe as special and isolated. In fact no history which is centred upon the country

of the historian can claim general validity. It can attain the status of universal history only if it takes account of all sets of facts, even if they are separate, and assesses their importance according to a uniform scale. But among all such sets of facts, the facts which constitute Indian history cover the longest period of time and the greatest geographical area. The history of India proper and the history of India as a civilising force are a part, and a considerable part, of universal history. By the diffusion of her religions and her sciences across Asia and Indonesia, India has a historical role comparable to those of Hellenism, of Christianity and of Islam.

(a) The Civilisation of Mohenjo-Daro

§ 156. There are a number of relics of prehistoric and proto-historic civilisations in India, but of them all only the ruins in the Indus valley at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa provide enough material to serve as the basis for some historical inferences. The relics at Amri, which are probably still earlier, for the present only prove that the civilisation of Mohenjo-Daro was established after another of some importance.

Urban Ruins

§ 157. The civilisation of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa is often called the Indus civilisation, but the usage is unfortunate since the other civilisations of the same area have the same right to the name. It extended over a large territory, the distance between Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa being over 400 miles. Its period is fixed by the presence of some of its seals in Mesopotamia at levels corresponding to about 2,500 B.C. It is characterised by the variety and perfection of its industries and especially by its great achievements in city building. The regular pattern of its public streets and the construction of a drainage system imply plans which could have been enforced only by a public authority, which in turn implies a high social organisation. It does not appear that there was a monarchy or a theocracy similar to those of Egypt and Mesopotamia at the same period. At least no remains of a palace or temple have been discovered, although the excavations have been extended and deepened. The only big buildings found, a bath and a market, are institutions of ordinary public use. It is however possible that ruins of palaces and temples are still hidden elsewhere or near by, possibly under the foundations of a Buddist building which covers part of the ruins.

Art and Religion

§ 158. A noteworthy development of art had occurred, which has left relics sufficient to permit of conjectures as to the prevailing religion. A bust of a man clothed in a garment ornamented with a three-leafed design has been considered, though quite without justification, to be an image of a god. Figurines representing women are often interpreted as proving a cult of the "Great Mother-Goddess", a cult which was, in fact, widespread in western Asia and recurred in the *Sakti* worship of classical India. The connection between this goddess and the female statuettes of Mohenjo-Daro is however merely hypothetical.

The inscribed seals, which often show a wild animal before which is placed a sort of manger, may have some religious significance. This is still more probable with the seals which are ornamented with vegetable, animal or geometrical patterns and bear figures of fantastic beings. One seal shows a person seated in the Indian fashion on a large, low stool. He has three faces and a head-dress with two horns, and is surrounded by animals, an elephant, a tiger, a rhinoceros, a buffalo, and two antelopes with long horns. Sir John Marshall has proposed to regard this image as representing a prototype of Shiva of the classical period, and even Shiva in the form of Pashupati, the "Lord of animals". This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that there are also found at Mohenjo-Daro elongated and conical polished stones which may be phallic objects, *linga,* like those of classical Shaivism. The supposition that there existed at Mohenjo-Daro a religion which later gave birth to Shaivism is probably a priori. Shiva and his Shakti do not appear in the Veda, but only in more recent texts from a period when new religions were being formed by fusion of indigenous cults with the Vedic and Brahmanical beliefs. It is thus possible that Shiva is an ancient indigenous god. It is nevertheless imprudent to interpret all the details of the objects at Mohenjo-Daro as precursors of features of the classical or modern Indian religions. Some have gone so far as to regard the seated posture of the "proto-Shiva" as evidence that he was engaged in the mystical Indian discipline of Yoga, but the posture in question, though used in Yoga, is not characteristic of that discipline : it is an ordinary sitting position in India. On such data one cannot base a valid historical theory which would place the origin of Yoga as far back as the period of the Mohenjo-Daro civilisation. Moreover some of these objects suggest Mesopotamia rather than India ; among others,

the representation of a hero fighting two tigers recalls the Sumerian Gilgamesh.

§ 159. The presence of Indus seals in Mesopotamia and foreign products at Mohenjo-Daro proves the existence of commerce, which may have proceeded overland or by sea. Representations of boats have been found.

Affinities With Other Civilisations

§ 160. If the civilisation of Mohenjo-Daro was quite advanced, practising commerce and worshipping a proto-Shiva and his Sakti, it is tempting to relate it to the Dravidian civilisation of the historical period. Of the two principal groups of the pre-Aryan population, the Munda and the Dravidian, only the Dravidian had a well-developed civilisation and a commerce with remote places. Moreover Shaivism is particularly popular among the Dravidians. Finally, the area which they dominated must have extended over the whole of India before the Aryan incursion confined them to the south,—Brahui, a Dravidian language, is still spoken in Baluchistan. For these reasons, and others of less importance, it is often supposed that the Mohenjo-Daro civilisation is Dravidian. Herodotus, writing of some pre-Hellenic peoples who could be associated with the group of the Phoenicians, who were supposed to have come from the Persian Gulf, mentions names reminiscent of Dravidian names (Tremilai, and King Pandion, Tam. Pandiyan). From this fact it has been somewhat daringly inferred that the Phoenician civilisation derived from the Dravilian and was brought to the eastern Mediterranean by the trading people of Mohenjo-Dro (Autran). It has even been attempted to read the Mohenjo-Daro inscriptions as classical Tamil (Heras), but the deciphering is quite arbitrary.

§ 161. The similarity between the signs on the seals and those on the wooden blocks of Eastern Island (Hevesy) has led to a search in the direction of the Pacific for affinities with the Mohenjo-Daro culture, but the similarities seem to be capable of explanation by a parallelism in the growth of these forms rather than by any relation of descent. The immense distance which separates the Indus from Eastern Island, and still more the enormous interval of time between the Mohenjo-Daro seals and the "talking blocks", which are modern, makes any such relation very improbable.

§ 162. Hrozny has made a more plausible attempt to read the inscriptions by beginning with the single Indus seal inscribed in cuneiform found at Ur (see § 5). The cuneiform inscrip-

tion would read "Chief of the Kushi country". The name Kushi, corresponding to an Indo-European people whose place of origin is between the Caspian, the Pamir and the Altai, and who were known as far as Egypt, thus occurs as the name of a country on the Mohenjo-Daro seal. The script of the seals would then be related to the hieroglyphic Hittite writing. The people of Mohenjo-Daro would then be of the same race as the "hieroglyphic Hittites", that is they would also be Kushites. Actually the signs found at Mohenjo-Daro differ considerably from the Hittite signs. Thus the Indus Kushites must have separated from the "hieroglyphic Hittites" some time before the complete formation of the writing system of the latter. The Mohenjo-Daro population must also have included an admixture of various peoples of ancient western Asia, as is shown by some of the proper names which Hrozny believes he has found on the seals. The language must have been Indo-European, like the hieroglyphic Hittite. The Aryans who brought Sanskrit will then have formed a second wave of Indo-European invasion into India.

The End of Mohenjo-Daro

§ 163. It is difficult to decide whether this second invasion destroyed the Mohenjo-Daro civilisation, or whether it perished under the attack of some other people, like those of Baluchistan, before the arrival of the Aryans (Mackay). The discovery at Mohenjo-Daro of skeletons in positions which suggest violent death has been interpreted as showing that the city was destroyed by an invasion. It is possible, however, that these are evidence only of a local drama, and that the cities of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa were abandoned in consequence of a change of climate which seems to have taken place. Sind must have become drier, as is shown by the animals on the seals, which are only partially represented in modern Sind, which has become too dry for them. It is possible, on the other hand, that floods caused Mohenjo-Daro to be abandoned. But the Aryans may have found towns still in existence on their entry into India, if the noun *pur* means "town" in the Veda (Indra and Agni are there called *puramdara,* "breakers of towns"). These towns may, however, have belonged to a civilisation which supplanted that of Mohenjo-Daro, for example that of Jhukar and Chanhu-Daro, of which the remains lie in more recent levels. The absence of writing in this latter civilisation may show that it was more barbarous, although it was otherwise on the same technical level. It is possible that Jhukar and Chanhu-Daro were deserted because of floods,

and in that case the Aryan invaders cannot have attacked them. In the absence of more definite data, history can for the present say no more about these towns than that they existed at a very early date.

(b) Vedic and Brahmanic India

The Aryan Invasion

§ 164. The Aryan invaders are the first people of India to leave a literature which has come down to us : the Vedic texts. It is these texts which enable us to establish that they were invaders. The origin of the Aryans is inferred from linguistic considerations. The relationship of the Vedic Sanskrit with the principal European languages leads to the assumption that in the prehistoric period there existed a common Indo-European language, the mother of the various known Indo-European languages, and it has also been supposed that the people who spoke this language formed the original stock of the peoples who speak the languages derived from it. However, the complex anthoropology of the peoples with Indo-European languages suggests that many other groups must have mixed with these peoples and adopted their languages. But Vedic Sanskrit and the ancient Iranian are particularly close, and there are many concordances not only between their words but between the ideas which they express ; it is therefore very probable that the ancient Iranians and the Vedic Indians separated from a common Indo-Iranian stock.

§ 165. The Iranians and Indians were white-skinned, and they referred to themselves by a word which goes back to the period of their common existence and later acquired the sense of "noble" : *airya* in Avestan, and *arya* in Sanskrit, whence the name Aryans applied to these peoples, and by an illegitimate extension to all those who speak Indo-European languages (the Wiros of P. Giles). Their relations with the Kassites or Kushites of western Asia (and, acccording to Hrozny, of the Indus valley) remain undecided, although some relation is proved by the fact that the Kassites and the Indians have in common the names of some gods (see § 51). Their relations with the Mitannians, and generally with all the peoples speaking Indo-European languages, are equally undetermined. But the correlation between the names of Mitannian gods and those of Indian gods (see § 51) is important because it is established by a document of known date (XIVth century B.C.). The gods in question existed at that date, but were they already Vedic ? If it is supposed that they were gods of the Indo-

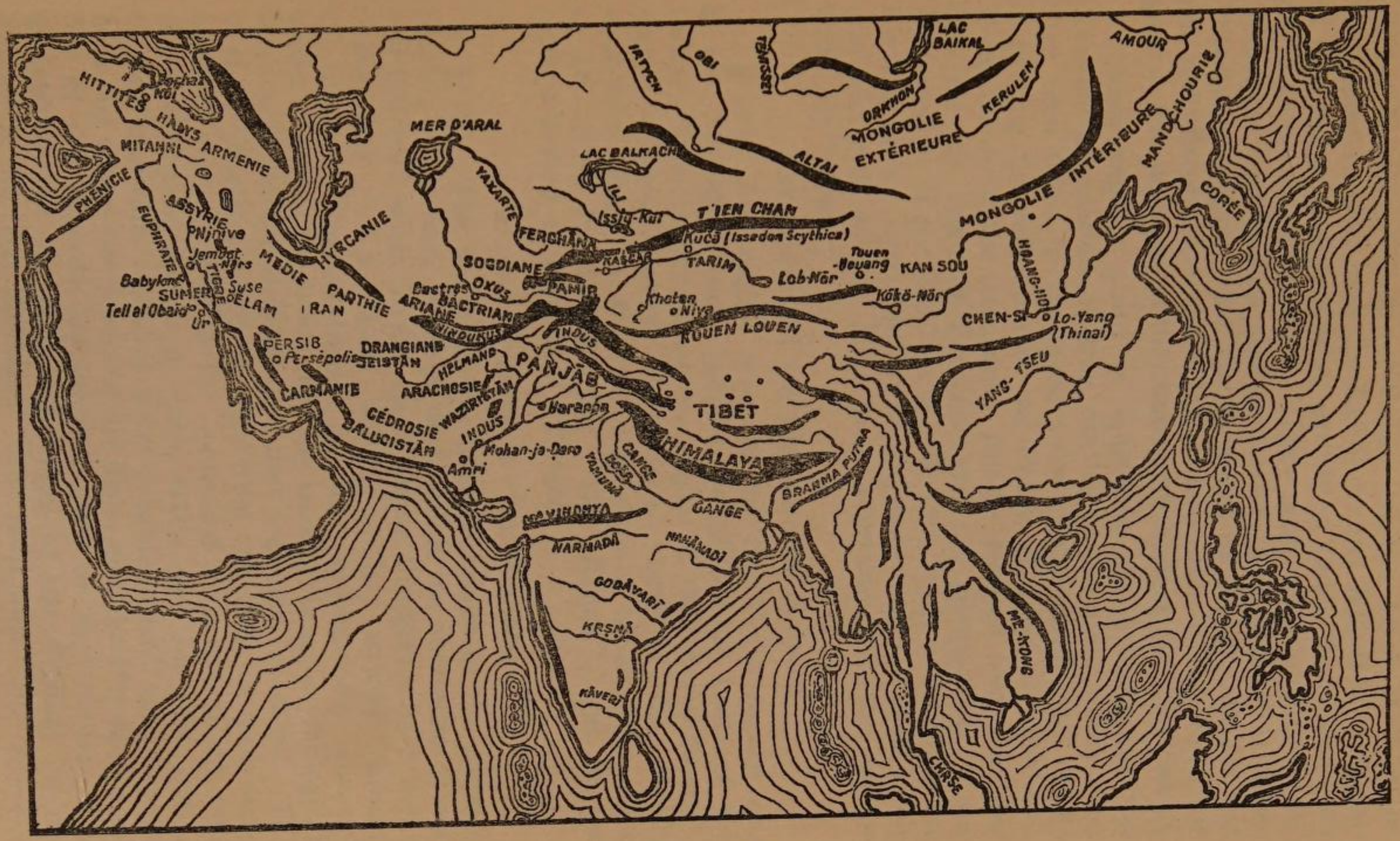

HITTITES
Boghaz Köi
HABYS
ARMENIE
MITANNI
PHENICIE
ASSYRIE
Ninive
EUPHRATE
Jemdet-Nars
Babylone
SUMER
Suse
ELAM
Tell al Obaïd
Ur
MEDIE
HYRCANIE
PARTHIE
IRAN
PERSIS
Persépolis
DRANGIANS
SEISTÂN
CARMANIE
CÉDROSIE
BALUCISTÂN
MER D'ARAL
YAXARTE
FERGHANA
SOGDIANE
Bactres
OXUS
BACTRIANE
ARIANE
HINDOUSH
HELMAND
ARACHOSIE
WAZIRISTÂN
INDUS
Mohan-ja-Daro
Amri
Harappa
PANJAB
TIBET
HIMALAYA
GANGE
YAMUNA
BRAHMA PUTRA
VINDHYA
NARMADÂ
GODÂVARÎ
KRSNÂ
KÂVERÎ
LAC BALKACH
ILI
Issik-Kul
T'IEN CHAN
Kuča (Issedon Scythica)
TARIM
Khotan
Niya
KOUEN LOUEN
Lob-Nor
Touen-Houang
KAN SOU
Kökö-Nor
HOANG-HO
CHEN-SI
Lo-Yang (Thinai)
YANG-TSEU
MONGOLIE EXTÉRIEURE
MONGOLIE INTÉRIEURE
ALTAI
IRTYCH
OBI
TOMSK
ORKHON
KERULEN
LAC BAIKAL
AMOUR
MANDCHOURIE
CORÉE
ME-KHONG
CHINE

Fig. 6—Asia

Iranians who were then on their way to India, then they were not yet Indian and not yet Vedic, and the Aryan invasion of India must be later than the XIVth century B.C. If it is supposed that the Indo-Aryans were already in India, then these gods might have come from India. They might also be taken as the Mitannian and Indian representatives of a prehistoric Indo-Mitannian religion. But the language of the Mitannians was not Indo-European, and the Mitannians probably borrowed the gods in question, just as they borrowed those of the Babylonians.

From another point of approach, the hypothetical but plausible calculation of Max Muller of the time which must have been taken in the elaboration of the Vedic texts results in placing the collection of the hymns at 1,500 or 1,200 B.C. More definitely, the date which can be deduced from Pauranic data for the reign of Parikshit and the composition of the Atharvaveda (1,400 B.C., see § 168, 176), leads us to place the Rigveda before 1,500, and in consequence makes it most likely that the gods of the Mitannians represent an echo of the Vedic mythology.

Establishment of the Aryans in India

§ 166. The region occupied by the Vedic Aryans was at first limited to India properly so called, the India of the Indus. More exactly, it was the region of the "Seven Rivers", *sapta sindhavah,* which the *Avesta* knew by the exactly equivalent name in Iranian, *Haptahindu,* which later came to be called Panchanada, the "Five Rivers", and in the modern period, in Persian, the Punjab.

Historical Data in the Rigveda

§ 167. The few historical facts contained in the *Rigveda* relating to the wars of the Aryans against the aborigenes (Dasa) and the wars of the Aryan clans among themselves have beeen summarised in a later volume. The strictly historical value of these statements has been questioned; however, where it cannot be shown that the statements are mythological, there is no reason to think that they are mere invention. The most striking fact which emerges from the study of these statements is that in spite of the continued authority of the text, the stories were not as a whole taken over into the Indian classical tradition. Thus it is not possible in most cases to trace back the numerous stories of the Epics and the Puranas to the few of the *Rigveda* for interpretation or explanation. The greater part of the historical names of the *Rigveda* do not appear in the later literature. The most important reappear,

it is true, but in general they designate persons very different from those referred to in the *Rigveda*. The name of the Vedic tribe of the Bharata has been preserved in the name of India, Bharatavarsha, the "Country of Bharata", and in this word Bharata is the name mentioned in the *Regveda* as the eponymous ancestor of the tribe. But the memory of the wars of King Sudas of the Bharata is diminished and altered in the post-Vedic texts. The "War of the Sons of Bharata" is a different war there, and if the rivalry of the successive chaplains of Sudas, Vishvamitra and Visishtha is still narrated, the story is much changed and Sudas has disappeared. This does not throw any doubt on the facts referred to in the *Rigveda,* but emphasises their antiquity compared with the later stories in which they are altered.

Historical Data in the Secondary Samhitas

§ 168. According to the allusions in the Vedic Samhitas posterior to the *Rigveda,* the *Yajus* and the *Atharva,* the Vedic culture expanded towards the east and south-east in course of time. The Kuru or Kauravya, resulting from the fusion of various tribes including the Bharata and the Puru, who were enemies at the period of the *Rigveda,* formed with the Panchala the Kurupanchala, on the upper Ganges and Yamuna, in the Doab. The Kuru, first mentioned, as also their king Parikshit, in the *Atharvaveda,* have already become legendary in the more recent *Brihadaranyakopanishad.* In the *Mahabharata,* composed after the Vedic period, it is among their clan, between the Kuru proper and their cousins the Pandava, that the great war of the Bharata takes place, immediately after which Parikshit is born. Now according to the Pauranic data, this war may have taken place bout 1,400 B.C. (see § 176). which would place Parikshit about that time, and would also make this the period of the *Atharvaveda,* which refers to Parikshit as a living king. From the time of the *Atharva,* the historical indications furnished by the Vedic literature are taken up by the Epics and the Puranas more faithfully than for the remoter period of the *Rigveda* : the Epic and Puranic material in some measure completes the Vedic allusions.

§ 169. We know, however, that in the period of the *Atharvaveda* the regions to the north-west of India were escaping from Aryan domination, and on the other hand the Aryanisation of India did not yet extend to the eastern part of the Ganges basin. For a hymn of the *Atharvaveda* which is intended to banish fever to the lands of foreigners, sends it

on the one hand to those in Gandhara and Bactriana (Bahalika), and on the other to the Magadha (southern Bihar) and the Anga (Bengal).

It is probable that from this time the Aryan culture covered the countries of the Koshala and the Videha,, places between the land of the Kurupanchala and those of the Magadha and the Anga. In any case, about 1,000 or 800 B.C., the period of the *Shatapathabrahmana,* Koshala and Videha are Arayanised, for Mathava the Videgha, the eponymous ancestor of the Videhas, had taken the sacred fire as far as Sadanira, the limit of the country which they occupied, and Brahmanism had completely penetrated this country. Janaka is one of the most celebrated kings of Videha, and his name appears later in the *Ramayana,* where he is the father of Sita. If he is the same king, the historical facts around which the legends of the *Ramayana* may have collected can then be placed about 1,000 B.C., or even a little earlier. We know that at that time the Aryan influence was expanding towards the east ; it is therefore reasonable to assign this same era for the similar expansion towards the south which the *Ramayana* records (see § 42).

Aryanisation of India at the End of the Vedic Period

§ 170. The "Laws of Manu" or *Manavadharmasastra,* not dated exactly but probably about the Christian era, are the ideal theoretical code of classical Brahmanism as it wished to be when the elaboration of its special literature had been completed, that is somewhat before the Christian era. It sets down officially, from the Brahmanic point of view, the achievements of the Aryan conquest at that time. According to Manu, Aryavarta is the whole of northern India between the two seas in the east and west, the Himavant in the north and the Vindhya in the south. Between the same limits to north and south but between the disappearance of the Saraswati (the place where the present Sarasuti loses itself in the sand) to the east, and the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamuna to the west, is the "land of the middle", the Madhyadesha. The Madhyadesha is itself divided into two regions. That to the west, which is the more holy, is the Brahmavarta, between the rivers Saraswati and Drishadvati (a tributary of the Saraswati). The eastern part is the Brahmarshidesha, comprising Kurukshetra and the lands of the Matsya, the Panchala and the Shurasenaka, that is to say, all the region of the Doab. All other lands are those of peoples who have resulted from the irregular mixture of castes.

The limits to north and south indicated here are natural, but to east and west they correspond exactly to a historical state of affairs : in the XIth century B.C. the country to the west had fallen under foreign influence through the establishment of an Achemenian satrapy, while the lands to the east had seen the birth of the religions of the Jina and the Buddha, rivals of Brahmanism.

Historical Data from other than Vedic Sources

§ 171. The *Mahabharata,* the *Ramayana* and the Puranas contain royal genealogies and pseudo-historical legends which go very far back into the past and therefore relate to the Vedic period. The Vedic texts themselves allude only to a small proportion of these facts. This is due to various causes. In the first place the later texts have certainly amplified and often altered the statements of the Vedic texts. Moreover the Vedic texts were not composed with the purpose of setting forth these facts, which appear only occasionally, and must have been transmitted to the authors of the Epics and Puranas by a tradition parallel to but distinct from that of the Vedas. Finally many of the facts in question relate to places beyond the bounds of Vedic orthodoxy, and it is therefore natural that the Vedic texts should ignore them or make but slight allusion to them. Indian culture in the Vedic epoch is not contained entirely within the Veda. In the Aryanisation of India the Vedic contribution is superimposed on the indigenous element and is partially fused with it. It is the result of this combination that appears in the Epics and the Puranas. It is thus that we find combined with the material mentioned in the Veda the whole cycle of legends of the hero Krishna, to which the Vedic texts make only one uncertain and late allusion (*Chhandogyopanishad*), which nevertheless relate to an early period and to territories which were Brahmanised at an early date.

Dynastic Lists

§ 172. The most ancient dynastic lists do not relate to a single tradition, and this is natural, since different dynasties reigned at the same time in different places. But an effort was made to bring them all into one or other of the few series admitted by the ruling Brahmanic tradition. Moreover the secondary dynasties, of whatever origin, themselves tended to claim connection with the more illustrious lines. According to the lists which set forth these connections, the great families of the legends ramified into large numbers of secondary dynas-

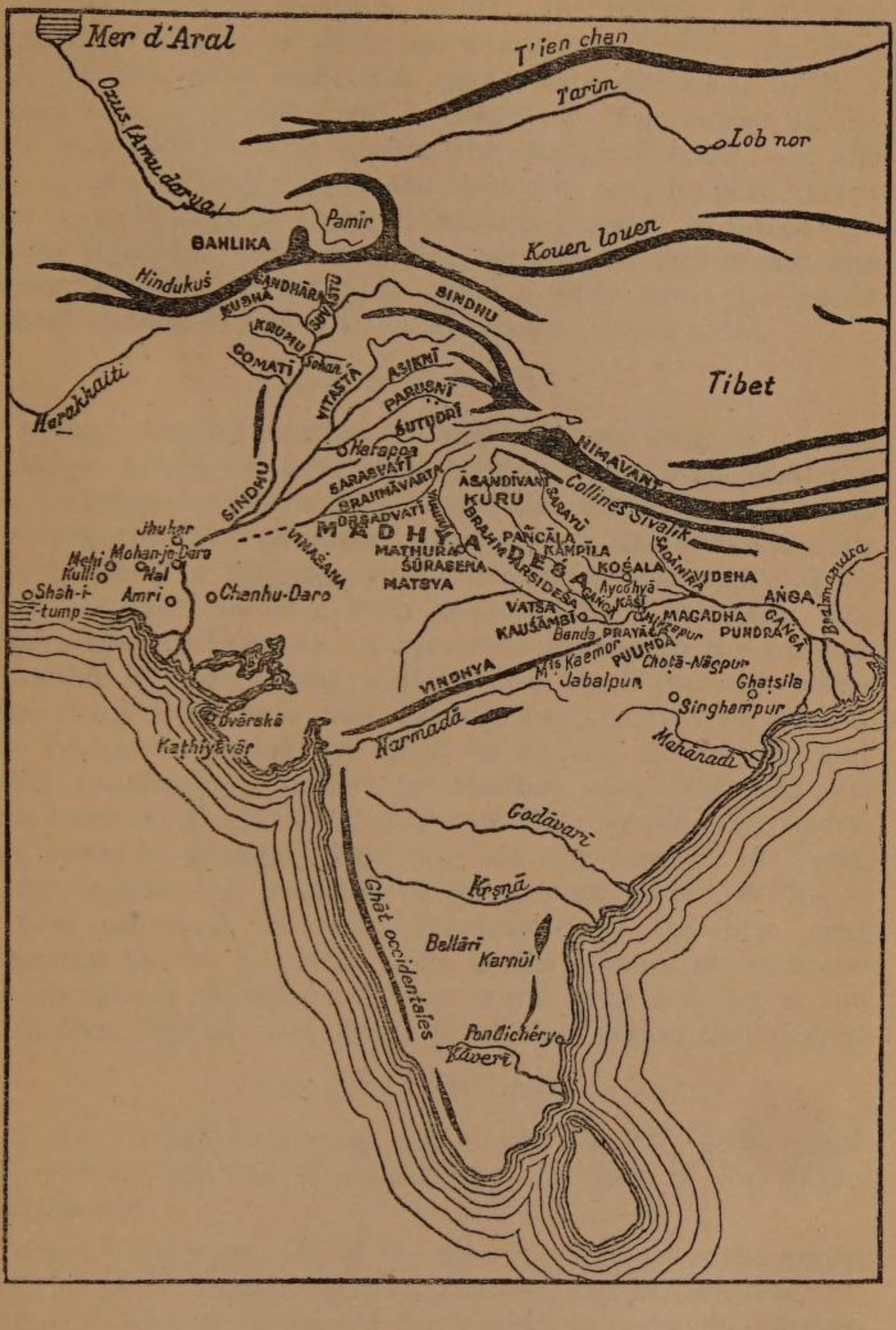
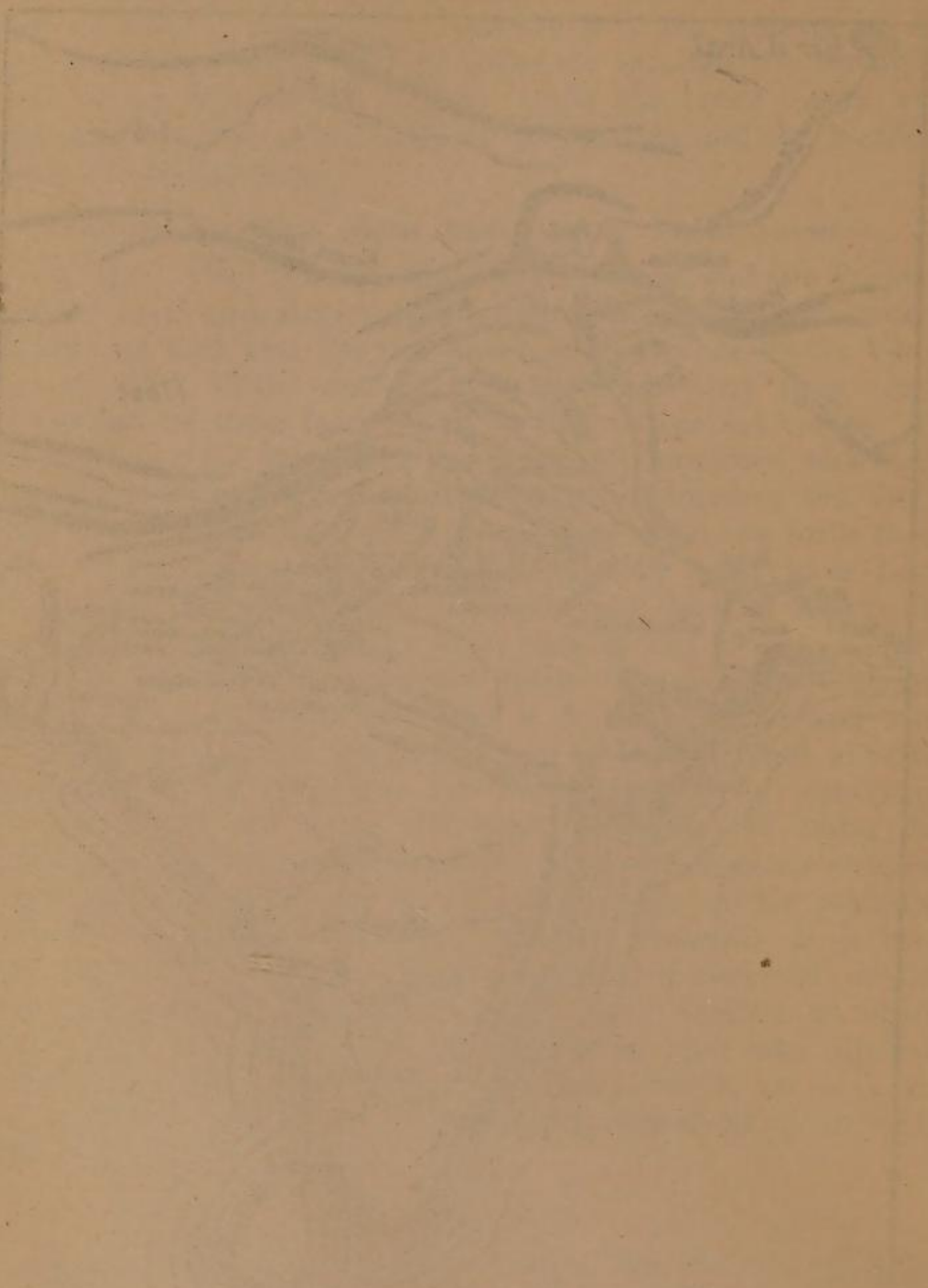


Fig. 7—India : Prehistoric and Brahmanic



ties, regarded as more or less impure in consequence of sins or curses, nevertheless peopled India. In reality they were indigenous peoples or dynasties, which entered into the orbit of Bahmanism only when that system extended itself to their country and compelled them to come in. The stories of the Epics and Puranas thus reverse the historical truth, but the peoples and the kings whom they mention may be real, except when a mythological story in historical guise is introduced into the narrative. Unfortunately, we can distinguish the true statements from the false, in general, only when we posses external sources of information whereby to check them.

Ancient Dynasties

§ 173. Legend ascribes the origin of mankind to a series of Manus, beings of more than human status born from the gods. Among the descendants of the first, Manu Svayambhuva, born of Svayambhu (Brahma) is king Vena, celebrated for his impiety, whom a religious revolt overthrew and replaced by Prithu, supposed to have been produced from the right arm of the corpse of Vena by an operation similar to the production of fire by the rubbing of the *arani,* which probably refers to the ritual whereby a new dynasty was affiliated to the old one. Prithu compelled the earth to nourish his people, and created civilisation. Afterwords another son, Nishada, was drawn from the thigh of the corpse of Vena by the same operation; Nishada brought with him all the impiety of Vena, and he became the ancestor of an impure tribe. Prithu is the first universal sovereign (chakravartin), the first king consecrated by the Rajasuya. But in the absence of confirmation, we cannot discriminate what truth there may be at the root of these legends, nor decide from what period they derive.

The Solar Dynasty

§ 174. Tradition recognises above all two great royal lines, that of the Sun (Suryavamsha) and that of the Moon (Somavamsha).

Manu Vaivasvata, son of the Sun (Vivasvant), is the ancestor of the Suryavamsha. Ikshvaku, Nimi, Sagara, Amshumant, Bhagiratha, who is celebrated for having brought the Ganges down from Heaven to the Earth, Sudasa, described as the friend of Indra and identifiable with the Sudas of the *Rigveda,* Raghu, Aja, Dasharatha, king of Ayodhya at Koshala, and finally his son Rama are the principal kings of the line. Rama is the hero of the *Ramayana.* Eleven generations, or about

three centuries, separate him from Sudas. If we place Sudas at 1,500 B.C.—or a little earlier or later, according as we are inclined to date the hymns which concern him—we get for the period of the events of the *Ramayana* a date not very distant from that obtained from other considerations for Janaka, king of Videha according to the *Satapathabrahmana* (see § 169). According to the *Ramayana* Janaka is an exact contemporary of Rama. But here occurs a difficulty which is typical of those which we meet in trying to make use for historical purposes of the Epic and Pauranic documents. According to the *Vishnupurana,* Janaka was the next in the line after Nimi. This takes him back to a time far to early for him to have been the father of Sita, wife of Rama. Also, according to the same Purana, it was one of his distant descendants who adopted Sita when she had emerged from a furrow in the Earth.. On the other hand, in the *Ramayana* Janaka is a descendant, but distant, not immediate, of Nimi. Thus one of the genealogical traditions has been greatly altered, if not both of them, and we have no means of determining the true succession of these kings. The fact remains, however, that the *Ramayana* and the *Vishnupurana* are in agreement at least in admitting a long interval between the time of Nimi and that of Sita. In either case, Nimi is relegated to the age of legends. Thus it is likely that the *Vishnupurana* is wrong in making Janaka the immediate successor of Nimi, while the Vedic data suggest that he should be placed at the end of the second millennium B.C. a reasonable date for Rama, whom the *Ramayana* makes his son-in-law.

In any case the Solar Dynasty appears as the possessor of an empire in the region of Koshala and Videha, where Brahmanisation took place relatively late, although it served as the point of departure of a second wave of Brahmanisation. It is thus possible that the hero Rama was an indigenous hero who became attached at second hand to Brahmanism in the course of his elevation to the position he occupies in the *Ramayana* and the Puranas of an incarnation of Vishnu. The absence of any mention of Rama in the Vedic documents would thus be explained quite naturally (the patronymics which appear with the name of Rama wherever it is mentioned in the Vedas show definitely that we have to do with different heroes).

The Lunar Dynasty

§ 175. Parallel to the names of the Solar Dynasty those of the Lunar Dynasty are sung at length in the post-Vedic

sources. The king Soma or Chandra(mas), the Moon, is its founder. His son was Budha, who married Ila, daughter of Manu Vaivasvata, founder of the Solar line. Budha and Ila gave birth to Pururavas. The sixth generation is represented by Yayati. Yayati's heir was not his eldest son Yadu but a younger one Puru, who had shown a greater degree of filial piety. The descendants of Yadu, the Yadavas, are nevertheless an illustrious branch of the family, ranking with the Paurava, the descendants of Puru. Among the Paurava are to be noted Dushyanta, who married Sakuntala, Bharata their son, who is said to be the first of the chakravartin (although in other traditions it is Prithu), Kuru, the ancestor of the Kauravya, and Dhritarashtra and Pandu, celebrated in the *Mahabharata*. Of the Yadava branch the principal kings are Arjuna Kartavirya, Vrishni and Andhaka, the eponymous ancestors of two famous clans, and above all Krishna, born in the Vrishni clan.

The majority of these kings, especially the earlier ones, are entirely mythical. Several of them figure as such in the Vedic sources, and have been only partially humanised. They were arranged in dynastic order independently of the Vedic literature, but at an earlier date than the IIIrd century B.C., when Megasthenes reproduced the head of the list of the Somavamsha.

The legend of Krishna is full of mythical elements, and the hero was finally accepted as an incarnation of Vishnu. It is impossible to accept the stories of his life as authentic. On the other hand it is unlikely that such a figure is from beginning to end an invention, as also the great war between the Kuru and the Pandava in which he took part. He doubtless represents a hero of non-Brahmanic origin. He is described as a member of the Yadava family, although the Yadva of the *Rigveda,* who correspond to them, are in the text considered sometimes friends and sometimes enemies. The legend preserves clear indications of his opposition to the Indra cult. If we have to recognise the same person in the Krishna, son of Devaki, of *Chhandogyopanishad,* he was then known as occupying himself with philosophical speculation, which was no longer strictly Vedic. In fact he appears in the *Mahabharata* as the supreme master of wisdom.

§ 176. Although he does not belong to the Vedic world properly so called, Krishna must be placed chronologically in the Vedic period. His epoch is fixed traditionally by the fact that his death marked the beginning of the Kali age (3102

B.C.). But the date of the beginning of the Kali age, determined at a later period by erroneous astronomical considerations, has no historical value.

Fortunately the Puranas enable us to reconstruct a more plausible chronology. Many of them purport to be recited under Parikshit at the end of the Mahabharata war. They present under the form of prophecies dynastic lists of the future, and give a total of 1598 years as intervening between that war and the age of Chandragupta Maurya. But the first dynasty in this period is said to have reigned for 1,000 years. That is evidently only a round figure. Moreover the *Bhagavatapurana* names 21 kings as occupying this space of time, and the *Vishnupurana* 16. 1,000 years is too long for such short lists, which would normally correspond to four or five centuries. We must thus reduce the Pauranic figure of 1598 to 900 or 1,000 years in round figures, as the interval between Parikshit and Chandragupta, who reigned at the end of the IVth century B.C. This would place Parikshit about 1,400 B.C., a reasonable date for him according to the Vedic sources (see § 168). Moreover the *Vishnupurana* itself knows a chronological system which gives 1015 years as the interval between Parikshit and the first Nanda, who preceded Chandragupta by 100 years. Other Puranas give comparable, though somewhat greater, figures. Finally, the Puranas say that Parikshit's grandson was a pupil of Yajnavalkya, the compiler of the *White Yajurveda,* who would thus be dated about 1300 B.C.

§ 177. Geographically the rule of the Lunar Dynasty centred in Madhyadesha, or more exactly in Kurukshetra, which forms the northern part of Brahmarshidesha. The senior branch reigned in these regions, while the younger branches are supposed to have formed the ruling families of kingdoms which became more numerous and distant as the family extended and ramified. Not only Kashi, Magadha, Anga in the east belonged to the Lunar line, but sovereignty was claimed by houses springing from it in the south and the far south, even including the land of the Pandya, who are sometimes regarded as descendants of the Pandava. The Lunar Dynasty thus expanded far more widely than the Solar line, which held to Koshala and Videha. Moreover it was the Lunar Dynasty which ruled the land of classical Brahmanism, the Madhyadesha, the land of the Kuru and the Panchala, two dynasties which opposed each other just as did those of Koshala and Videha. However artificially the lists may be arranged in their earlier parts, they give evidence of a real state of things :

they show the existence of two distinct centres of political power, the one on the upper Ganges and Yamuna, and the other to the north of the middle Ganges. It may be noticed, too, that the king Sudas in the *Rigveda* fights against ten kings. Now in the Puranas Sudas belongs to the Solar Dynasty, and five of these other kings are of the Lunar Dynasty. This is an indication at least of a phase of struggle betwewen those who were later regarded as representatives of the two dynastic groups. But no memory of this struggle itself survives in the Puranas, and these texts, in contrast to the *Rigveda,* do not place the tribes in question in the Punjab, but transport them to the Madhyadesha.

(c) India in the Period of the Buddha and the Jina

The Shakya

§ 178. It is in the region which borders Koshala on the north, the Uttarakoshala, that Buddhism was born. The father of the Buddha was Shuddhodana, king of Kapilavastu, chief of the noble clan of the Shakya. The wife of Shuddhodana, "Queen Illusion", Mayadevi, gave birth to the Buddha in a miraculous way: he issued from her right side without causing her any hurt, in the Lumbini Garden at the gates of Kapilavastu. A commemorative pillar erected later by the emperor Asoka has been found at a place now called Rummindei in Nepal, and this fixes the situation of Kapilavastu. The prince whose birth had fulfilled the king's vows and who had therefore been named "Aim accomplished", Siddhartha, renounced the throne and the world at the age of 29 and went away in search of the Law of Salvation and later became the Buddha, "The Awakened". The Shakya are regarded as belonging to the Solar line. The legend which relates their genealogy traces it back to a king Mahasammata, one of whose descendants was Sujata, king of Shaketa or Koshala, said to belong to the house of Ikshvaku. This king made a promise to one of his concubines, who took advantage of it to obtain the succession for her son and to exile the king's other children. These, five sons and five daughters, retired to the Himalaya, near the hermitage of the Rishi Kapila, founded Kapilavastu, and, the five brothers having married their sisters, created the clan of the Shakya (*Mahavastu*). The Puranas, on the other hand, while granting that the Shakya and Shuddhodana belong to the family of Ikshvaku, give a different genealogy, in which the Shakya are replaced by a king Shakya, father of Shuddhodana. The legend of the exile may have been invent-

ed in order to link this frontier clan with the Koshala dynasty. It is rendered suspect from the historical point of view by its resemblance to a better-known legend which also belongs to the Koshala country, and of which it may be an imitation, viz. the legend of Rama, who was also exiled in consequence of an imprudent promise given by his father to a stepmother.

The type of social organisation of the Shakya is suggested by the fact that the important members of the clan at least appear not to have been subjected to the authority of the king in the way of subjects to an absolute monarch. The royal title, Raja, no doubt meant chief of a confederation.

Neighbouring Confederations

§ 179. On the east and the south-east of the Shakya country in the time of the Buddha the people were not ruled by monarchs but by governments consisting of assemblies of nobles or notables. The Malla, the immediate neighbours of the Shakya to the east, and the Vriji (Pali Vajji) farther to the east, divided between them the north of Videha, while the Lichchhavi occupied the south, with Vaishali as their capital (Pali Vesali, on the site of the present Basarh). The texts speak of the Vriji as consisting of eight federated clans (kula), and it is probable that the Lichchhavi were included among these, since Vaishali appears as the capital of the Vriji and of the Lichchhavi at the same time. Vriji was the generic name of the confederated clans, and also the name of one of them, more particularly, no doubt, of that one which held Mithila, the ancient capital of Videha, in the time of king Janaka. Other clans of the same region are known, in particular the Ugra, the Bhoga, the Aikshvaka, and above all the Jnatrika, among whom was born the founder of Jainism, Mahavira, the "great hero", or the Jina, the "conqueror", at Kundapura near Vaishali.

Neighbouring Kingdoms

§ 180. All these clans occupied Videha and the territories round about, that is, roughly the country where the old Solar Dynasty had reigned, whose power had weakened and finally been divided among them. But Koshala, Rama's country, the very centre of the Solar Dynasty, still remained a monarchy, to which the Shakya of Videha appear to have owed allegiance as vassals. Koshala and Videha, bounded on the north by the mountains, had on their other frontiers powerful states which had taken the places of the monarchies of the Lunar Dynasty. These were : on the east Anga, Bengal,

with capital Champa, on the south-east the opulent Magadha, which at first had its capital at Rajagriha (modern Rajgir) and then at Pataliputra (modern Patna), on the south the kingdom of Kashi, on the south-west the country of the Vatsa or Vamsa, with capital Kaushambi, the semi-circle being closed on the west and north-west of Koshala by the lands of the Shurasena, the Panchala and the Kuru. Further away to the south-west, but in touch with the Buddhist countries, were the kingdom of the Chedi, and more especially the powerful Avanti or Malava, with its capital Ujjayini.

Political Events in the Time of the Buddha and the Jina

§ 181. Various texts state that several celebrated kings were born at the same moment as the Buddha. This is of course a legend intended to group all these celebrities round the central figure of the Buddha, but it may be true that these kings were his contemporaries. According to the *Abhinishkramanasutra,* they were Prasenajit of Koshala, Bimbisara of Magadha, Udayana of the Vatsa, and Pradyota of Avanti. In fact, when the Buddha arrived for the first time in Magadha, king Bimbisara, or Shreniya (Pali, Prakrit, Seniya) reigned at Rajagriha which he had founded, and held the kingdom of Anga under his domination.

The Jain sources say that it was a royal prince of Magadha who governed Anga. Bimbisara married Chellana or Vaidehi, daughter of Chetaka, a Lichchhavi who governed Vaishali and was the maternal uncle of the Jina. Bimbisara and Chellana had a son, Ajatashatru (Pali, Ajatasattu) or Kunika (Prakrit, Kuniya).

Bimbisara was a great patron of the Buddha, but he was murdered by his son Ajatashatru, who took the throne in his stead. Treacherous and ambitious as well as a parricide, Ajatashatru sought everywhere for new worlds to conquer. He turned against the neighbouring confederated states. In his campaign against the Vriji, Varshakara, his minister, built a fort at Pataligrama which later, under Udayibhadra, became the new capital of Magadha, Pataliputra. It was also Varshakara who by his intrigues caused a division among the Lichchhavi and enabled Ajatashatru to seize Vaishali from the clan of his grandfather Chetaka. Ajatashatru also waged war against Prasenajit, the king of Koshala, after the murder of Bimbisara, one of whose wives was a sister of Prasenajit. He was succesful at first, but was later captured and then set at liberty by Prasenajit, and even took one of his daughters in marriage.

The Buddha succeeded, though with much difficulty, in converting him, but then found in him the same zeal as Bimbisara had shown. After the death of the Buddha Ajatashatru suffered the same fate as he had caused his father to suffer. He was murdered by his son Udayibhadra, who succeeded him.

§ 182. Prasenajit for his part was a friend of the Buddha and of the Sangha. Dethroned by his son Virudhaka, he sought shelter with Ajatashatru, but died as soon as he arrived. Virudhaka, when he had obtained control of Koshala, wished to expand his kingdom at the expense of the neighbouring confederated states as Ajatashatru had done, and he attacked the Buddha's clan, the Shakya, who at first repulsed him, but were finally overcome and exterminated. In consequence the Buddhist tradition has execrated his memory. The legend is that he died in a fire, together with the counsellor who played the same part in his life as Varshakara did in Ajatashatru's life, and both fell into the hell called Avichi in accordance with a prophecy of the Buddha.

Udayana of the Vamsa and Pradyota of Avanti are also represented in the Buddhist texts as having been in close touch with the Buddha, but they are also well known because of the cycle of stories of the *Brihatkatha,* and literary works in which Udayana is shown as eloping with Pradyota's daughter. This king is often called Chandapradyota, "Pradyota the Fierce", in the Buddhist texts. He seems to have been bellicose : we get an allusion to precautions taken by Bimbisara in Magadha against a possible attack by Pradyota.

The Dates of the Buddha and the Jina

§ 183. All these facts concerning contemporaries of the Buddha and the Jina can be dated by reference to their dates. The Buddhist tradition prevailing in Ceylon, Burma, Siam and Cambodia puts the death and nirvana of the Buddha at a date corresponding to 543 B.C., which is, in the usual way, the point of origin of an era. Among the Jains a strong tradition, also entrenched in practical usage, places the death of the Master at 527-528 B.C. But there is no unanimity among either the Buddhists or the Jains, and different sects give different dates. Moreover, these dates, 543 and 527, were obtained only by adding together the periods assigned, without any certainty, to the reigns and patriarchates between the death of the founder and the time when the calculation was made.

As regards the Jina, Jacobi has shown that in the XIIth century Hemachandra gave the data for a calculation which

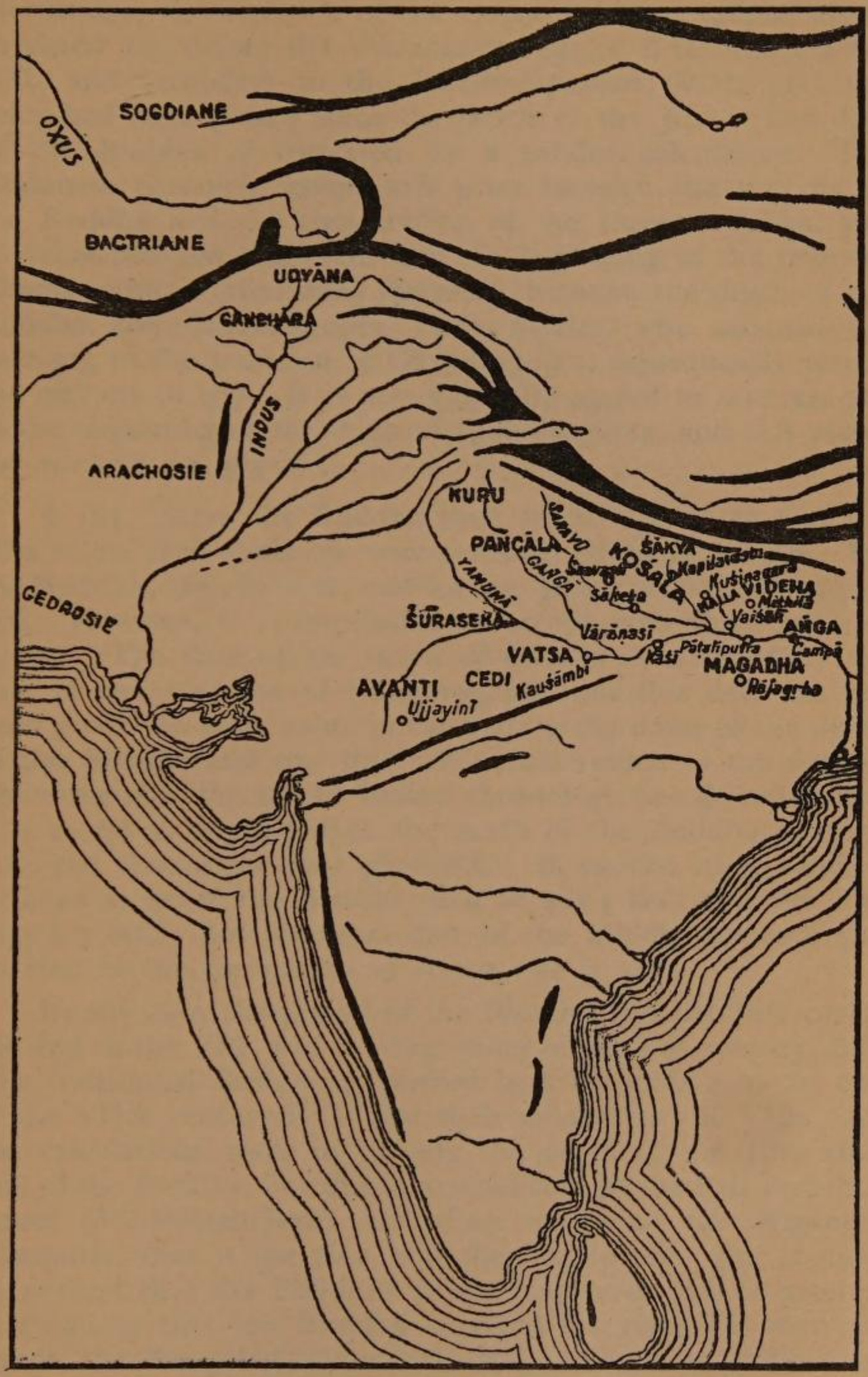
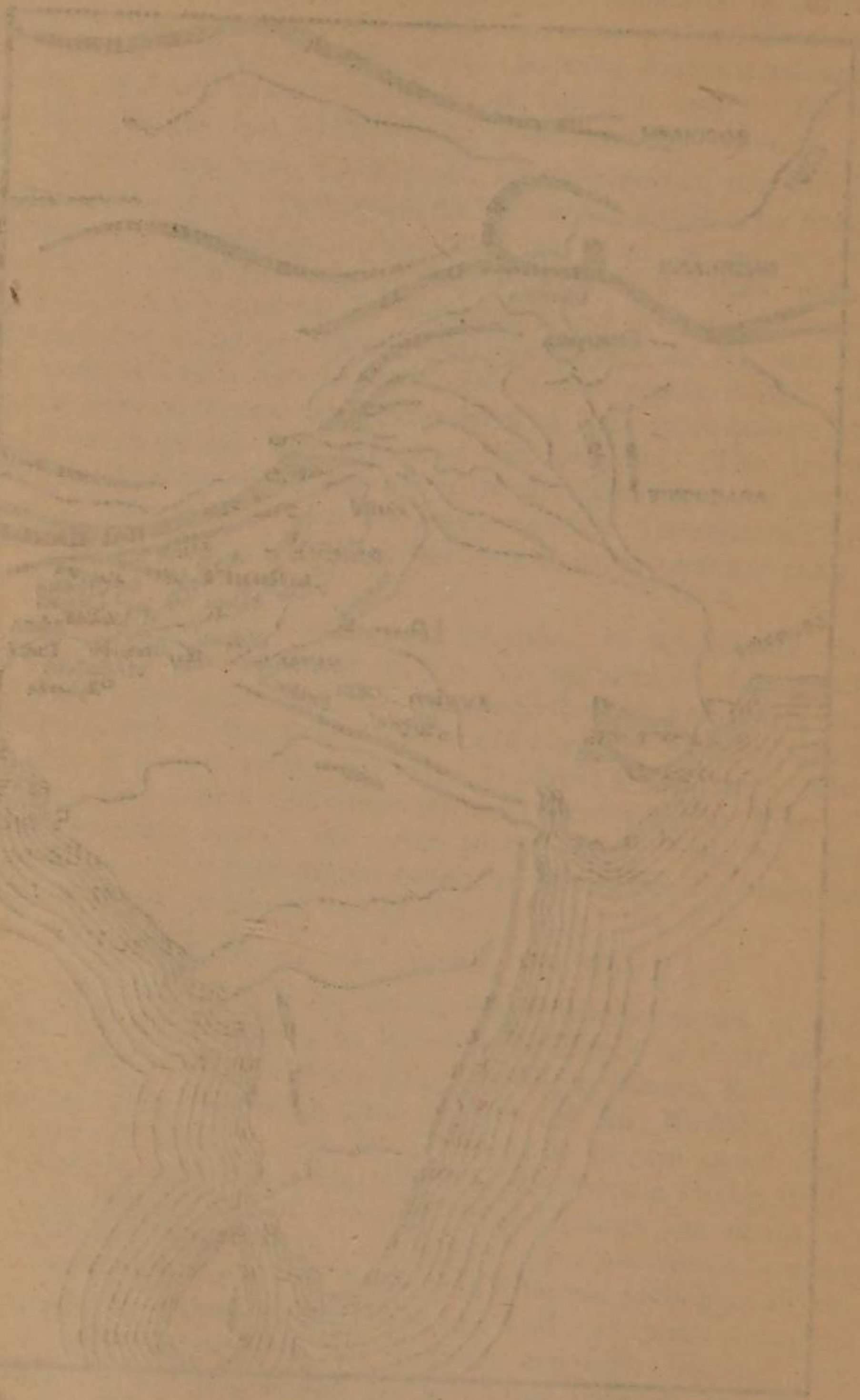


Fig. 8—India at the time of Buddha and Mahavira



places his death in 467-468 B.C. According to the data of Merutunga, the accession of the emperor Chandragupta would be dated 255 before the Vikrama era (57-58 B.C.), *i.e.* 312-313 B.C., and according to the *Parishistaparvan* (VIII, 341) 155 years had then passed since the death of the Jina. The date of the Buddha is corrected by a similar calculation. The Ceylanese chronicle assign 218 years between the nirvana of the Buddha and the consecration of the emperor Asoka, and 56 years between this event and the beginning of the reign of Chandragupta : 162 years, therefore, between the death of the Buddha and Chandragupta. Max Muller, who assigned the date 315 to the accession of Chandragupta, consequently placed the nirvana in 477. It is now generally agreed to take 321-322 as the beginning of the reign of Chandragupta, and this places the nirvana in 483 B.C.

§ 184. Since the Buddha died at the age of 80 and the Jina at 72, their dates are now generally given as follows : for the Buddha, 563-483 B.C., and for the Jina 540-468 (or 539-467) B.C. However, it is impossible to accept both these pairs of figures. The date of the death of each is determined by the date of the accession of Chandragupta, but this date has not been given the same value in calculating the dates of the death of the Buddha and the Jina. We shall return to the date of Chandragupta, the key to Indian chronology (see § 202), but if it is accepted as 312-3, B.C. the death of the Buddha is 474-5, B.C. and that of the Jina 467-8 B.C. If, on the other hand, it is taken as 321-2, the Buddha died in 483-4 B.C. and the Jina in 476-7 B.C. But the exact date of the Buddha depends also on that of the coronation of Asoka (see § 215).

In any case, the period of the Buddha and the Jina covers the end of the VIth and the beginning of the Vth century. B.C. The traditional chronology pushed back their birth to the end of the VIIth century B.C., and their mission to the VIth. All our calculations agree in placing the death of the Jina after that of the Buddha, but this is contradicted by the Pali Buddhsit canon (*Majjhimanikaya*), according to which the Nigantha Nataputta, that is the Jina, was the first to die. But it must be noticed that the Buddhist canon may have had an interest in claiming that the Buddha survived his rival. If then we accept the foregoing numerical data, and other indications furnished by the texts (especially the *Mahavamsha*), on the chronology of these events, we may draw up a table of dates, established in relation to the nirvana, for the age of the Buddha :

Birth of the Buddha	...	...	– 80
Birth of Bimbisara	...	...	– 75
Accession of Bimbisara	...	...	– 60
Accession of Ajatashatru	...	...	– 8
Nirvana ...	...	...	0
Death of Ajatashatru	...	...	+ 24
Coronation of Ashoka	...	...	+218

(d) The Persians and Greeks in North-West India

§ 185. While the events which have just been summarised were happening or were about to happen in the interior of India, and while the two great religious movements of Buddhism and Jainism were inaugurating powerful currents of change in Indian civilisation, that civilisation itself was threatened in the north-west by the entry on the scene of foreign conquerors.

The Achemenian Persians

§ 186. An old legend says that Cyrus (VIth century) attempted an expedition into India without success, just as Semiramis, queen of Assyria, did before him. Megasthenes and Strabo already expressed disbelief in these stories. In fact in the list of 23 viceroyalties or satrapies established by Cyrus, India does not appear; it is, however, possible that Cyrus reached the Indus (Foucher). Certainly the Achemenian power was at the gates of India : Bactriana, Gandhara and Arachosia were made satrapies. According to Pliny, Cyrus destroyed the town Capissa (Kapishi, the present Begram, near Kabul). Under Darius India proper was invaded. According to Herodotus, about 519 B.C. Darius sent Skylax of Karianda in Caria, and others who are not named, to explore the Indus. Skylax embarked at Kaspatyros (or Kaspapyros, Kashyapapura, the present Multan—Foucher). He descended the Indus, reached the Indian Ocean, and returned through Egypt. Immediately afterwards Darius conquered the Indus valley and thenceforth made use of the Indian Ocean. Since the voyage of Skylax took two and a helf years, the cconqquest probably took place in 517 or 516 B.C. On the other hand, it has been argued that the conquest must have taken place first ; otherwise the voyage could not have been carried through without obstruction (Jackson). The great inscription of Darius at Bahistan, between 520 and 518 B.C., still fails to mention India among the satrapies, while Hidu (Sind) is referred to as having been annexed in an inscription at Persepolis of date between 518 and 515 B.C., and in another at Naksh-i-Rustam a little later than 515 B.C. The statement of Herodotus agrees well

with these inscriptions, especially if it is assumed that, from the fact of the unobstructed journey of Skylax, the Indus was considered as having been conquered, or that the journey was the occasion of the submission, which was made complete by the immediate occupation of the country. In any case it does not appear that the Persian power met with much opposition.

Herodotus also says that the Indians, the most numerous of known peoples, paid Darius more tribute than all the others put together, and that they were taxed 360 Euboeic talents of gold dust, that is more than 9 tons, a figure which seems excessive (Tarn) but is nevertheless not impossible (Bazin-Foucher).

§ 187. The extent of the penetration of the Achemenian power into India is not known exactly. The centre of Indian civilisation was then in the Ganges valley, the central part of India where Buddhism was born, and our sources, mostly Buddhist, do not at this time extend their horizon to the western areas to which the Persian domination was in any case confined.

The period of this domination may have been prolonged up to the fall of the Achemenians. At the battle of Gaugamela, 331 B.C., where the empire fell before Alexander through the defeat of Darius III Codomanus, there were two contingents of Indians in the line, but under the command of the Satraps of Bactriana and Arachosia. There is no mention of a satrapy of India, either because it did not exist, although Indians could be recruited into the Persian army, or perhaps because the Indian contingent was attached to those of neighbouring satrapies.

§ 188. The Achemenian administration, which was highly organised and developed, was established in the Indus valley and exerted some influence even in central India. Nearly a century after the fall of the Achemenians, Asoka's chancellery appears to have preserved some memory of its methods of work (see § 93). It is possible that the Achemenian system of measurements was copied throughout India, for the Indian system shows analogies with it (Decourdemanche). The Aramaean script used by the Persian administration served as the model for a system of writing in north-west India. Even the art of central India took something from Persian art.

ALEXANDER IN INDIA

§ 189. Having defeated Darius, Alexander had to take over his empire, and was finally led to invade the remotest of its satrapies, that of India. After the battle of Gaugamela,

Darius took flight and was imprisoned by his escort, ,and Bessos, the satrap of Bactriana, put himself at the head of the rest of the army. The satraps of Arachosia and Drangiana ranged themselves by his side. Far from finding the empire prostrate before him, Alexander had to subdue it region by region, though his task was eased by a number of satraps making submission in order to save their positions.

In 330 B.C., Alexander subjugated Aria and Arachosia and founded Alexandria there. In 329 B.C. he marched north, invaded Bactriana and there founded an Alexandria under the "Caucasus" (Paropanisus or -misus, actually the Hindukush). He captured and slew Bessos, and then continuing northwards conquered Sogdiana. It was there that in the exuberance of his pride he had himself worshipped as a god.

The Indian Campaign

§ 190. Returning to Bactriana, Alexander estabilshed a small garrison there, and then in 327 B.C., after the thaw had opened the passes of the Paropanisus, he advanced to the eastern limits of the province of the Paropanisades and the northern approaches of the Kophen (Skt. Kubha, the Kabul river). The route of his march has been reconstructed by A. Foueher. In three or four stages he arrived at Lampaka (the present Laghman), halted there, and founded a town named Nikaia. He then detached from the main body of the army a flying column, of which he took command himself, and led it across the mountains north of the Kophen in order to subdue many turbulent tribes. Meanwhile the main body of the army, under the command of Hephaistion and Perdikkas, crossed the river and followed its right bank towards Gandhara and the Indus. There it reduced Peukalaotis (Pushkara or Pushkalavati), where Alexander rejoined it for the first time. Thence it advanced towards the Indus, over which Hephaistion threw a bridge of boats at a narraw point north-east of Udabhanda (Und). Alexander had meanwhile resumed his expeditions into the mountains to protect the left flank of the army. He received the submission of Nysa, and captured the fortified height of Adornos in the massif of Pir-sar (A. Stein). These successes still further inflamed his pride.

At Nysa he was told that the town was founded by Dionysos, and as proof was informed that ivy and the wild vine grew there. Moreover he was shown a neighbouring mountain to which they gave the name, of magical significance to Indians, of Meru ; it was, they said, " Meros ",, the " thigh " of Zeus,

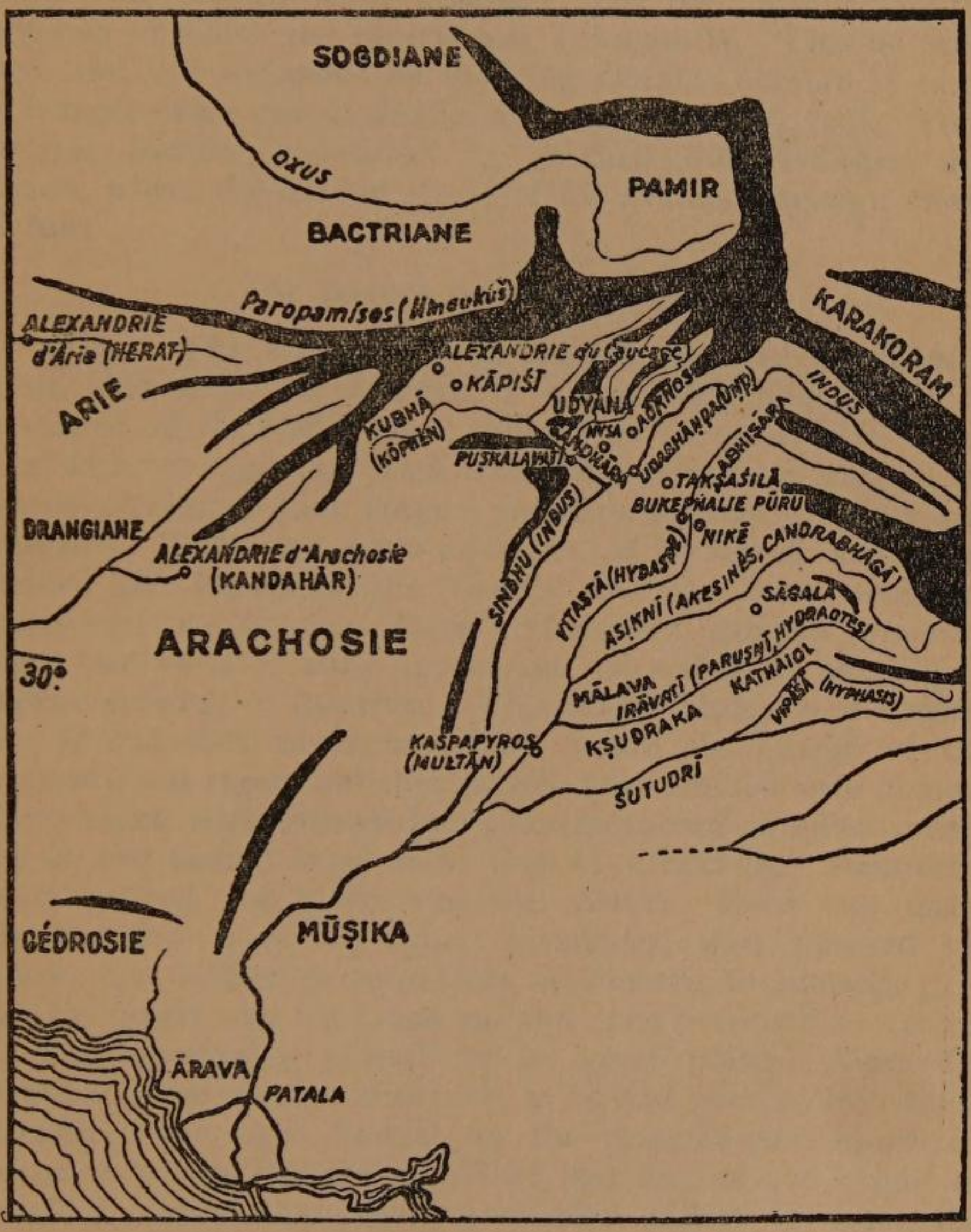


Fig. 9—Campaigns of Alexander

from which Dionysis was born. Finally they told him that Herakles had been defeated before Aornos, which he, Alexander, had captured.

At length he returned to the bridge of boats across the Indus. He crossed it in February, 326 B.C., and entered a kingdom of which the capital was Takshashila. This he occupied, and was welcomed by the king Omphis (Ambhi ?), or as he is more often called, Taxila, after his capital (§ 229). Then without further opposition he reached the Hydaspes, the Vitasta, where the hardest battle of his Indian campaign awaited him.

The Battle of the Hydaspes

§ 191. The king who held the left bank of the Vitasta, Poros, that is to say a Puru, a distant descendant, real or pretended, of the Vedic Puru, camped on the other side of the river with an imposing army consisting, as was the rule in all Indian armies, of four corps : infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants. These last were especially to be feared, since they terrified the horses of the Greeks, and the men were not accustomed to fighting them. Alexander camped opposite Puru, but by a stealthy movement succeeded in effecting a surprise crossing of the river. The battle volume very violent. The Macedonian ranks gave way before the charge of the elephants, but these, and their riders, were riddled with arrows. Those which were wounded or riderless caused as much confusion in the Indian army as in that of Alexander. Reinforcements arrived and gave him the victory. Puru was made prisoner after a heroic fight. Alexander, who admired his bravery and wished to secure his attachment to himself, gave back his power and his kingdom, and even promised to extend it. This generosity proved to be good policy. Alexander maintained the prestige of royalty, as he had done in Iran when he ordered the same funeral for the defeated and murdered Darius as he would have had if he had died at the height of his glory. More than that, Alexander wished to make the Puru an auxiliary rather than a victim. He inaugurated a policy which continued to achieve success in India, where in the XIXth century the East India Company refrained from dethroning the sovereigns of the country, which it governed through them, leaving them in charge of the administration, and leaving to them the responsibility in the eyes of the people for actions which they were ordered to do. The king Abysares, that is Abhisara, thus called from the name of his people, learn-

ing from the example of Puru his neighbour, offered his submission in order to retain his kingdom, but another Puru, an enemy of the former, fled. Alexander had brought his first campaign in India to an end. At the place where he had crossed the Vitasta he founded a town named Bukephala after his horse, and at the site of the battle another town called Nikaia.

§ 192. Alexander hoped that the whole country would accept the rule of Puru, who had become his faithful vassal, but he had to intervene himself to subdue it entirely; moreover, he wanted to continue his march to the east. He crossed, in succession, the Akesines (Asikni), and the Hydratoes (Iravati, the ancient Parushni), but between the two rivers the Kathaioi (Kshatriya ?), the Oxydrakae (Kahudraka) and the Malli (Malla or Malava) formed an alliance against him and awaited his attack under the walls of the old fortified town of Sangala (Sagala, modern Sialkot). He returned across the Iravati, forced them back into the town, and stormed it, pillaged it and destroyed it. Puru, who had marched in his support, was ordered to occupy and pacify the country. Alexander returned to the left bank of the Iravati, and pushed across the states of Sophytes (Saubhuta) and Phegelas (Bhagala), which submitted to him, as far as the Hyphasis (Vipasha). Beyond this was a well administered oligarchical republic. Beyond that again, at a distance of several days' march, was the great country of the Prasioi (Prachya), the "Easterners", and of the Gandarides (better Gangarides, probably the inhabitants of the Ganges basin). Their king was Xandrames, and the capital of the Prachya was Palibothra, that is Pataliputra. Thus the country referred to was Magadha. Xandrames evidently corresponds to the Sanskrit Chandramas, "Moon" and we should be tempted to identify Xandrames with Chandragupta were it not that he is certainly Sandracottos, who according to Justinus appeared as king only after the death of Alexander. Thus Xandrames would be the predecessor of Chandragupta, Dhanananda. The name Chandramas may be that of the Lunar line, to which the kings of Magadha belonged (see § 177). According to the classical historians, however, Xandrames was a bastard, whom the queen had had by a barber. It is possible that this circumstance impelled him to stress his claim to descent from the Lunar line. His identification with the last of the Nandas is confirmed by the fact, known from Indian sources, that this king was regarded as a man of low rank. On the other hand it is possible that the name Xandrames refers, not to a parti-

cular king, but to the rule of the Lunar dynasty over the group of Gangetic states, among which Pataliputra was the foremost.

However that may be, there was the prospect of another struggle. This did not deter Alexander, who wished to push forward till he reached the sea which he believed encircled the earth and communicated with the Caspian and the Persian Gulf. But the army was tired and afflicted by the climate (it was now July, 326), and it protested all the more since it knew that it had reached the boundaries of Darius' conquests, and if it was normal, having conquered the Persian empire, to occupy all its territories, it was senseless to advance beyond it to engage in new adventures (Foucher). Alexander had to resign himself to retreat. He built twelve enormous altars on the banks of the Hyphasis, which marked the limit of his conquests, and handing over to Puru the territory he had acquired ordered retreat.

ALEXANDER'S RETREAT

§ 193. Nevertheless Alexander did not give up his project of reaching the great occean. He achieved it by sailing down the Hydaspes and the Indus. Returning to the banks of the Hydaspes, he built at Nike a fleet which was ready in October, 326.

Part of the army embarked on the boats, and the rest marched along the river banks. The fleet was nearly wrecked at the confluence of the Vitasta and the Asikni. Alexander entrusted the command of the fleet to Nearchus. The march of the troops by land also was far from safe. They reached the home territory of the Malava, who were free peoples—no doubt a confederation of clans similar to those on the borders of the Buddhist kingdoms in central India. Their hostility had been shown previously, when they allied themselves with the Kshudraka and the Kathaioi against Alexander at Sagala. Although they had felt his power, these peoples were not yet prepared to submit. Puru, when defeated on the Vitasta, had agreed without too much difficulty, despite his bravery, to accept the position of a favoured vassal. The Malava showed a different temper, like that of the Rajputs who many centuries later defended India against the Muslims: when defeated they burn their towns and perish rather than surrender. The "Brahmans", as our classical sources call them, behaved in this way in one town of the country of the Malava. During one of the fierce struggles which marked this campaign, Alexander in prison led the assault on the capital

of the Malava and was severely wounded. Having captured the place, the infuriated Macedonians massacred even women and children.

§ 194. The Malava and the Kshudraka were at last pacified by extermination or terror, and Alexander resumed his march to the south in February, 325. Once more he had to subdue people who were hostile or indifferent, and whose indifference irritated him. In Alexander's eyes it was a crime not to pay him homage as he passed. Several local sovereigns learnt this by experience. The most important of these appears to have been Mousikanos, probably the king of the Mushika.

It was believed that the Brahmans instigated his resistance. It appears that in the lower Punjab and the Indus valley, countries less often in contact with foreigners than those on the north-west frontier, the Brahmans showed more intransigence than elsewhere, and were more faithful to their traditions, the *dharma* and the social order which they had established, and held the *mleccha,* the barbarian, in great horror.

Finally, in July, 325 Alexander reached the Indus delta, Patalene, with Patala as its capital, the inhabitants of which fled at the approach of the Macedonian fleet and army. He had already sent part of the army under the command of Krateros westward across Arachosia and Drangiana. He regrouped his forces and started his march across Gedrosia en route to Iran. The fleet under the command of Nearchus followed along the coast, serving as a source of supplies for the army. In September, 325 Nearchus sailed into the Persian Gulf. Alexander, a few days' march ahead of him, had entered the land of the Arabeis (Arava), who like the people of the delta had fled at his approach. The fighting of the Indian campaign was over, but the army suffered greatly in the desert of Gedrosia, although these regions, like those of the Punjab and the South where Alexander had been able to supply his army from the country, were then less arid than they are now.

§ 195. When he left India, Alexander did not renounce his claim to rule from afar the countries which he had traversed. He left Indian vassals in the north of the Punjab, and reestablished the Achemenian satrapies in the south Punjab and in Sind, making Philip satrap of the Malava, and Peithon of Sind. But Philip was assassinated in 324, and Peithon could not hold his ground. Eudemus replaced Philip

shortly before Alexander's death in 323, but the two Greek satraps were compelled to retreat northwards. Eudemus murdered Puru in 318 in order to obtain possession of his elephant corps and departed in 317 to take his share in the partition of the empire. Peithon also left India in 316 through Gandhara. A revolt led by the future emperor Chandragupta was no doubt the decisive event which compelled these two Greek chiefs to leave. Hardly ten years after the entry of Alexander into India the Greek power had been eliminated. Alexander's expedition, although it consisted of a succession of victories, was in its total effect a defeat. By overthrowing the Achemenian empire, he had freed India from the encroachments of the Iranian power, but for himself, he had only succeeded in ravaging without establishing his dominion over the country which the Achemenians had occupied for nearly two centuries.

The Effects of Alexander's Expedition

§ 196. Greece obtained little benefit from the expedition. Her brief and violent contact with the Indian civilisation did not enable her to become acquainted with it in a useful way. At most she was enabled to appreciate the extent and the wealth of India, and to admire the courage which his philosophy could inspire in an Indian. She knew that a gymnosophist who had been attached to Alexander's entourage, named Kalanos—possibly a distorted version of the form of salutation he used : "Kalyanam astu !"—had ascended the funeral pyre alive. She knew that this gymnosophist was not the only one nor the greatest in his country, but she remained otherwise ignorant of Indian thought.

§ 197. India suffered without learning anything more than she knew before. She had not needed the Macedonian invasion to know of the Greeks. Some Greeks, like Skylax, had been brought to India by the Persians, and India knew them under the Persian form of their name. *Yavana* is an imitation of the Persian *Yauna,* itself formed from the name of the Ionians. The expedition did not even inform them that the Greeks then called themselves Hellenes. The relations between Indians and Greeks were managed through Persian interpreters. The administration which Alexander tried to establish was copied from that of the Achemenian satrapies. India saw a number of Greeks, but received from them nothing of the culture of their country. It is not surprising therefore that she did not preserve any memory of her conqueror. In

fact she hardly knew of it. The heart of her civilisation was then in central India, and the brief incursion of the Yavana across the western frontier, then recently freed from the Iranian power, could not have been regarded as an important event. Even in the places where he came his passage can have left few traces. The intellectual elite which could write and preserve its thoughts gave its attention to spiritual emancipation and attached little value to military glory. The classical historians have preserved the discourses in which the Indian philosophers fearlessly stated their opinion of Alexander.

But if Alexander did not introduce Hellenism into India, he did at least establish it at her doors after having defeated the Iranian power. The influence of Greece on India is later than his time, but is, despite everything, the consequence of his actions.

(e) The Maurya Empire

Magadha

§ 198. Between the period of the Buddha and that of Alexander the political events which took place in India are hardly known. It appears however that in the intervening century and a half they did not greatly change the organisation of the country. In Alexander's time, as in that of the Buddha, we find many kingdoms, of varying power, sharing the country with free states governed by aristocratic assemblies. The kingdom of Magadha seems to stand out above all the others in power and it is to become the centre of the first great historical empire of India.

Alexander's historians, who however often disagree among themselves on details, estimate the army of Xandrames at 150,000 or 200,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, 2,000 chariots and 3 to 4,000 elephants. At the battle on the Vitasta Puru had put into the line only 30,000 infantry, 4,000 horse, 300 chariots and 200 elephants.

The Shaishunaga

§ 199. Between Ajatashatru and Xandrames the succession of the kings of Magadha is imperfectly known to us because of the disagreement of our sources. The chief Pauranic lists show Ajatashatru as the sixth of a line of ten kings, the Shaishunaga, whose founder is Shishunaga and his successor Kakavarna. But the *Mahavamsa* puts after Ajatashatru a Susunaga and his son Kalasoka. Since Kakavarna means "colour of the crow", and Kalasoka means "the black Asoka",

these names must represent the same king, but one of the two lists has distorted the order of succession of the kings. There are also other though less important discordances.

The Nanda

§ 200. However, the lists agree, for the most part, in placing some generations after Ajatashatru a succession of kings called the nine Nandas. According to the Puranas, the last Shaishunaga, Mahananda, had by a wife of the Shudra caste a son Mahapadmananda, who founded the Nanda dynasty. He was a great king—he held the whole earth under his umbrella. He destroyed the race of the Kshatriyas and inaugurated the rule of Sudra kings. Evidently we have to understand that the low birth of his mother excluded him in principle from the throne, but he nevertheless seized it, doubtless at the expense of a legitimate branch of the family, and thus founded a new dynasty. He had therefore to break the opposition of his nobility, the Kshatriyas, and in doing so he extended and strengthened his power. His eight sons reigned after him, but their dynasty was overthrown by Chandragupta, founder of the Maurya dynasty.

There is a great discrepancy between the *Mahavamsa* and certain Puranas, which state that the Nandas reigned 22 years and 100 years respectively (see § 176). Though a period of 100 years is possible for two generations, a total of 22 years is a priori more likely. We do not know whether the Nandas reigned in succession, or disputed for the throne and thus allowed Chandragupta to reestablish the unity of their father's kingdom at their expense. In fact some of our sources say that Chandragupta dethroned the last Nanda, Dhanananda, but it is more often declared that he "destroyed the nine Nandas". They then may have reigned jointly, or may have been fighting among themselves when Chandragupta arrived on the scene. But if the Xandrames of Alexander's historians is Dhanananda, he must have triumphed over his brothers before being overthrown by Chandragupta.

Chandragupta

§ 201. The establishment of the Maurya power appears to have been, in some measure, a reassertion by the nobility of their power over the monarchy. Chandragupta was in fact a Kshatriya, and belonged to a clean named Maurya (Pali, Moriya), whence the name which he gave to his dynasty. Some sources, however, say that his mother was a Sudra, who was named Mura. It is possible that he was related to the Nandas. It

was the Brahman Chanakya (Pali, Chanakka), or Kautilya, or again Vishnugupta, who by his political stratagems enabled Chandragupta to take power. To this illustrations Brahman are attributed works which have come down to us : a book of moral procepts, the *Nitisastra,* and an important political treatise, the *Arthasastra.*

Chandragupta is the Sandrakottos or Sandrogyptos of the Greeks, a contemporary of Alexander and of Seleukos Nikator. This identification (due originally to De Guignes, and not to Sir William Jones, a traditional and often repeated error) is the basic datum of the entire ancient chronology of India. Chandragupta is moreover the Indian king whom the Greeks knew best and about whom they have left us the most information.

§ 202. Justin (XV, 4) says that he was of humble origin, which may explain why his status seemed to deny him all hope of the throne. He adds that the auguries nevertheless made known his exalted destiny early in his life. Having offended Alexander, he sought safety in a precipitate flight, and on one night on this journey, when he was asleep, a lion came and licked him. This story at least indicates that in his youth he met Alexander. A bold correction replaces Alexandrum in the text by Nandrum (Gutschmid), and Nandrum would mean Nanda. But this correction is not necessary, since Plutarch affirms that Chandragupta was once in the presence of Alexander. If that is so, he probably knew Puru, and the *Mudrarakshasa* and Hemchandra make a king Parvataka his ally. It is often said that Parvataka is no other than Puru. However that may be, Justin says that after the death of Alexander (323) India threw off the yoke and killed Alexander's "prefects", that the "author of liberty" was Sandracottus, but that thereafter he reigned despotically. It was thus shortly after 323, perhaps in 322 or 321, that he began to claim the supremacy, and according to all probability, it was largly his measures against the Greek officials which compelled Eudemus to withdraw about 317 and Peithon about 316 (see § 195). It does not follow that he had already overthrown the Nandas and taken power in Magadha. Geiger thinks that he had done so ; Max Muller considered that this event probably took place about 315. A still more probable date is 313-312 (Bhattasali). In fact Justin states that Sandracottus had acquired the royal power and "possessed India at the time when Seleucus laid the foundations of his future greatness", that is to say, in 312, the year when Seleukos carved

out for himself an independent principality at Babylon, the base year of the Seleucid era. It is also in 313-12 that the Jain sources place the accession of Chandragupta (see § 183). These inferences, in agreement with the statements of Justin, should be accepted until something turns up to prove that they are wrong. It is, then, 313 which has the greater probability of being the exact date, since the year indicated by the Jain reckoning (255 before the Vikrama era) corresponds to about 10 months of 313 and 2 months of 312 B.C. Now if, soon after the death of Alexander, Chandragupta took the lead of the movement of rebellion against the Greek prefects in the north-west, he could not have taken the throne at Magadha at the same time. It is probable that, emboldened by his success against Alexander's lieutenants, he turned, after the final retreat of the Greeks in 316, against the Nandas, whom he replaced at Magadha in 313.

§ 203. As king of Magadha, Chandragupta nevertheless exerted an imperial authority over all of northern India. When Seleukos, now king, advanced on India to reconquer the provinces which had submitted to Alexander, it was with Chandragupta's power that he collided. He had to abandon his attempt, and in 305 he concluded with the Indian emperor a treaty whereby he ceded to him that part of the provinces bordering on the Indus which had formerly been held by the Persians (Eratosthenes in Strabo, XV, 11, 9), that is, the territories of the Indian satrapies of Darius, Gandhara and Hidu, this last including not only the banks of the Indus but also those parts of Arachosia and Gedrosia adjoining the Indus basin. The treaty provided in exchange for the gift by Chandragupta to Seleukos of 500 elephants, probably those which at the battle of Ipsus (301) against Antigone secured the victory to Seleukos. Chandragupta also granted the jus connubii. It must be supposed that he recognised the Greeks as a caste such that it was permissible for Indians to contract legitimate marriages with them (Foucher). This amounted to ceasing to regard the Greeks as *mlechchha,* and admitting them into Indian society. After the treaty the two kings maintained relations through Megasthenes, who resided at Pataliputra in his capacity as ambassador of Seleukos (see § 54).

We do not know how far Chandragupta's empire entended towards the south. It is often said, though without certainty, that he possessed the regions of Gujerat and Avanti which his grandson Asoka ruled, since there is nothing to show that Asoka had conquered them himself. But Asoka may have

received them as part of his heritage from his father Bindusara, who may have annexed them to the Mauryan empire.

§ 204. The power and the administration of the Mauryan empire deeply impressed the Greeks. Megasthenes and the *Arthasastra,* so far as that work is really a composition of the minister Kautilya, have given us a detailed picture of it. Megasthenes has particularly noted a number of outstanding characteristics of the classical Indian civilisation. As for instance, the social division into classes outside of which one could not marry. These classes corresponded certain occupations, and imposed a particular condition of life, at least unless one had become a "sophist", that is to say a *sannaysin.* The Greek sources say that philosophers had an eminent place in society and were Brahmans or Garmanes (=Sarmanes, Schwanbeck ;=Zarmanes, Meile), which correspond to the distinction between Brahmanas and Sramanas, both belonging to the highest spiritual class, the former by birth and the latter by personal effort.

Various religious currents were in conflict in all parts of the empire, from Punjab to Bengal. At the time of Alexander's expedition, in addition to Brahmanism, which was solidly established throughout, the nude ascetics or "Gymnosophists" of various sects were numerous in the religion of Takshashila. There was keen, though probably peaceful, competition among the religions in the early years of the Maurya empire. The Jains cherish a tradition that the emperor himself, though set upon the throne by a Brahman, was converted to their religion, abdicated, journeyed to the south in the company of the patriarch Bhadrabahu, and committed suicide in the Jain fashion, allowing himself to starve to death at Shravana-Belgola in Mysore.

Bindusara

§ 205. The length of Chandragupta's reign is fixed by all the sources at 24 years. We know relatively little about his son Bindusara, who however must have maintained, if he did not increase, the prosperity of the empire. The *Mahavamsa* says that he reigned 28 years, and the Puranas 25. The Greeks called him Amitrochates, but this name, which corresponds to Amitraghata, "Slayer of enemies", is not applied to him by the Indian sources which we possess. Antiochus I Soter of Syria sent a certain Deimachos to him as ambassador. Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt sent a certain Dionysos in the same capacity. He himself sent to Antiochus saying that

he wished to buy dry figs, sweet wine and a Sophist, and received the reply that it would be illegal to sell a Sophist. This small fact is enough to show that relations existed between the kings of Magadha and of Syria, and that Bindusara interested himself in spiritual matters. The *Mahavamsa* tells us that he maintained 60,000 Brahmans, but this is a work of piety and does not necessarily imply any special interest in science or philosophy.

Bindusara's eldest son was Sumana. Another of his sons, Asoka, was sent to suppress a rebellion at Takshashila (*Asokavadana*). Later he was given charge of the government of Avanti (*Mahavamsa*). When the death of his father seemed imminent, Asoka left Avanti and proceeded to Pataliputra, where he made himself master on Bindusara's death, had Sumana assassinated, and took power into his own hands.

Asoka

§ 206. The prince who thus obtained the empire by crime was to become the most virtuous of the sovereigns of India and one of the greatest figures of history.

Known to the Puranas under the name Asokavardhana, to the Buddhist texts under that of Asoka or Dharmasoka if they are in Sanskrit, Asoka or Dhammasoka if they are in Pali, he is designated by the name Asoka in only one of his own inscriptions, that at Maski. Normally he is called Devanampriya or -piya, "Well beloved of the Gods", and Priyadarsi or Piyadasi (Skt. Priyadarshin), "Of amiable appearance".

Between the time he took power and his coronation at Pataliputra four years elapsed (*Mahavamsa*). He obtained the throne by violence, and at first he expanded his empire by violence. He conquered the kingdom of Kalinga on the east coast in the 9th year after his coronation. This was the occasion of a profound change in him. The horrors of war, especially the suffering inflicted upon religious persons, Brahmans and Shramanas, inspired him with remorse, witness to which he himself caused to be engraved throughout the empire (13th rock edict). This change ended in the 11th year after his coronation in his complete conversion to Buddhism, marked by the fact that he "has been to the Sambodhi", which doubtless means both that he has approached the complete Awakening to the truths of Buddhism, and that, as the *Asokavadana* says, he has visited the place where the Buddha obtained Bodhi (see Vallee Poussin for a similar interpretation). This conversion was also marked by the begin-

ning of his pious peregrinations, dhammayata (8th rock edict). He took care to inform all his people of the conversion and of the duration of his first pious journey by a proclamation repeated at Rupnath, Sahasram, etc. (see § 91).

§ 207. It is to this conclusion, at least, that we seem to be compelled to come, though the text may be open to very different interpretations. From the proclamation in question it appears that the king had become an *upasaka,* a lay disciple of Buddhism, more than two and a half years before the time he wrote, but he developed great zeal only somewhat more than a year before, at the time when he became intimate with the Community (Sangha). At the moment when he wrote he had passed 256 nights (F. W. Thomas) in his travels, which corresponds to the time pescribed for the peregrinations of Buddhist teachers, the rest of the year being the normal period of retreat during the rainy season (S. Levi), calculated according to the astronomy of the *Jyotishavedanga* then in vogue. The date of his approach to the Sangha, followed by this pious journey, is evidently that of his second and more complete conversion, which he places in the 11th year after his coronation; and therefore the edicts of Rupnath, which were engraved after the journey of 256 days, must be of the same year or the beginning of the next.

The first conversion to Buddhism as an *upasaka,* more than two and a half years earlier, was then in the 9th year. Thus the moral crisis caused by remorse over the conquest of Kalinga proceeded in two stages to make a zealous Buddhist of Asoka.

§ 208. According to the *Dipavamsa* and the *Mahavamsa,* several members of the royal family had already become Buddhists, his nephew Nigrodha in the 4th year after his coronation, his brother Tissa Moggaliputta in the 5th, and his son (or younger brother) Mahinda in the 7th. The nephew Nigrodha more particularly may have been the author of Asoka's conversion. According to the *Mahavamsa* he was the son of Sumana, the brother whom Asoka had assassinated in order to take the throne. He was born when his pregnant mother fled from the scene of the crime. At the age of 7 he had been admitted into the Sangha by one of its members who had observed on him the signs of his destiny. Asoka, who did not know him, one day saw him pass beneath a window of the palace; struck by his bearing, he called him and learnt from him the first teachings of Buddhism. It has been supposed that we have here a discrepancy between the tradition recorded

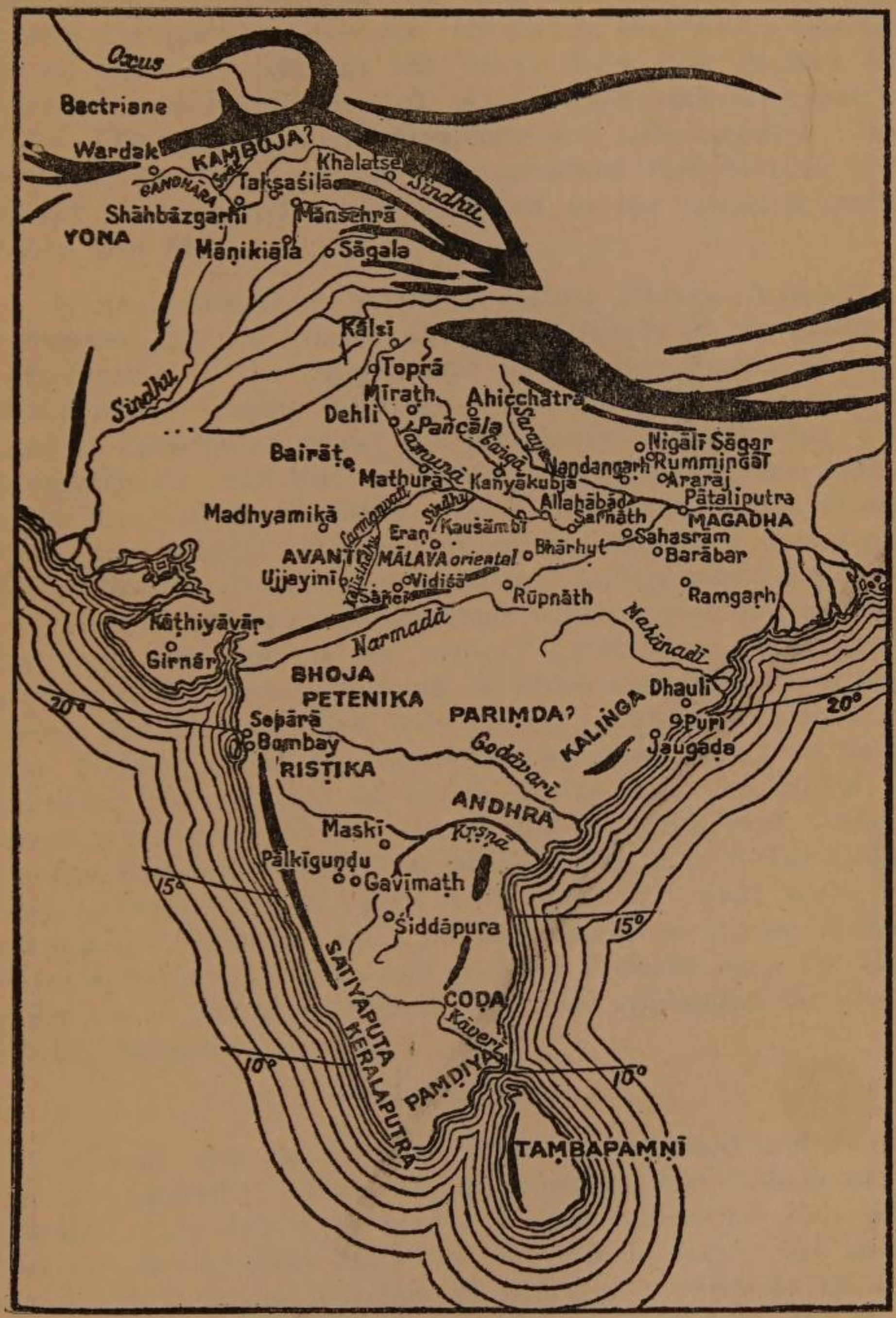
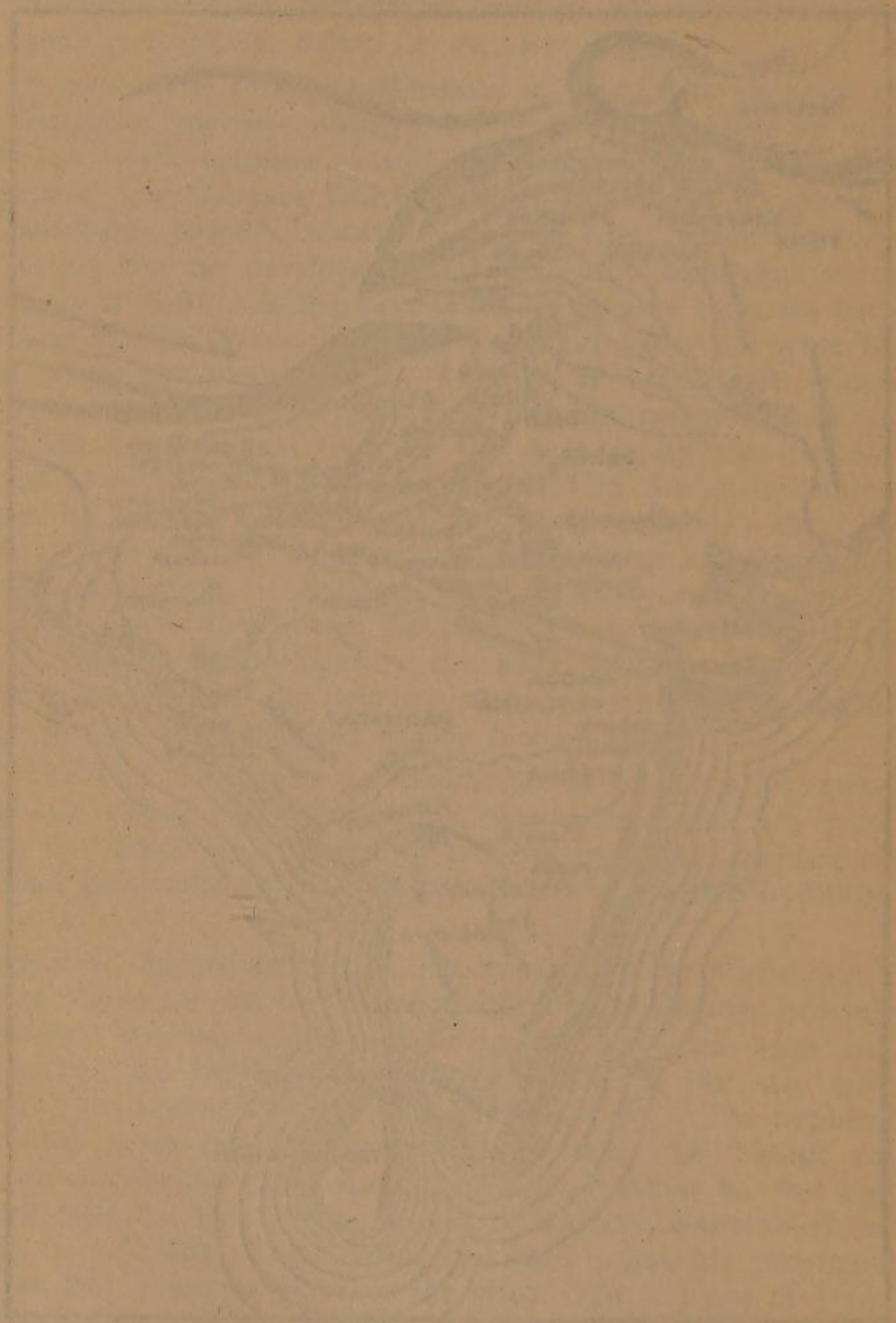


Fig. 10—Empires of the Mauryas and the Sungas



in the *Mahavamsa* and the authentic facts of the edicts, since the *Mahavamsa* has been interpreted to say that it was at the time when Nigrodha had just been admitted to the Sangha, during the 4th year after the coronation, that Asoka was converted by him; whereas the edicts show that Asoka's first conversion to Buddhism took place in the 10th year (Senart, F. W. Thomas). But the disagreement is only apparent. The *Mahavamsa* allows of the interpretation that several years passed after Nigrodha was admitted to the noviciate before Asoka saw him.

§ 209. According to the Buddhist sources, Asoka, once converted, devoted himself almost exclusively to the giving of benefactions to the Sangha and to building 84,000 Buddhist monuments. During his reign a great Buddhist Council was held at Pataliputra, under the presidency of his brother Tissa Moggaliputta; and his son Mahinda and his daughter Sanghamitta founded the Buddhist church in Ceylon. Even miracles were not lacking: at his coronation, though it was before his conversion, gods and supernatural beings assembled.

In spite of the embellishments which legend has added to the facts, this story is not without foundation. The inscriptions and documents the truth of which cannot be questioned, prove that Asoka visited holy places, Lumbini and no doubt also Bodhgaya, that he "doubled" the monument to a former Buddha (the mention of which proves that the legend was already accepted at that time), that he prescribed measures against dissident monks (Sarnath), and that he believed himself to have "mixed" gods with men and men with gods (Rupnath, Sahasram, etc.), to have obtained divine manifestations (4th rock edict), and to have brought back the times when, as in the pious legends, the gods applauded the sources of the Buddhist Dharma.

Asoka's Dharma

§ 210. But the Dharma which he professed and extolled in his successive edicts, the dhammalipi, the "edicts of the Order", from the 13th year after his coronation (6th pillar edict), was not only Buddhist: it was in large part similar to the Brahmanical Dharma, of which every king by his coronation was made the protector. It was, moreover, not only a religious ideal: it was also political and even cosmic, it was the ruling Order in the widest and fullest sense, and not only that envisaged by a particular sect. When Asoka exhorted men not to be content with the performance of rites (9th rock

edict), but to repent of their sins (3rd pillar edict), to practise virtue, to be compassionate, generous and just (passim), he was not preaching any particular or exclusive religion. He expressly commended mutual tolerance between different sects (7th and 12th rock edicts), and in the very years when he caused to be inscribed the first of his edicts of the Order, he made a gift of two caves to a sect foreign to Buddhism, the Ajivika, and he showed the same generosity again in the 20th year of coronation. (Barabar).

Asoka's Government

§ 211. The victorious fratricide, turned peaceful and liberal, did not neglect the affairs of the kingdom for the exercises of piety. He worked at affairs of state with a vigour in which he took pride, and by which he paid his "debt" to living beings (6th rock edict). He did not limit himself to preaching the Good Order : he took care to see that it was observed. In the 13th year after his coronation he ordered inscriptions to be carried out by various classes of officials, *yuta* (clerks) *rajuka* (rectors) and *pradesika* (provincials) and these inspection tours were to be carried out every five years (3rd rock edict). In the 14th year he created *dharmamahamatra,* literally those who have the great measure of the Order, thit is to pay controllers-general of the Order. These mahamatras also had to make a complete inspection every five years in the territories directly governed by the king, and every three years in the viceroyalties entrusted to royal princes like that of Ujjayini (1st Dhauli edict), where no doubt abuses were more likely to occur. These officials were also ordered to establish relations with neighbouring peoples in order to demonstrate to them the just and peaceful disposition of the king (2nd Dhauli edict).

§ 212. Deciding on their reports and acting through them, Asoka not only put his administration to work to improve both the material well-being of the people and their spiritual condition, persuading them to behave so as to merit paradise, *svarga,* but extended his care to all living beings. He forbad the killing of animals even for his own table, and it was for the sake of animals as well as men that he caused medicinal and edible plants to be distributed, trees planted to give shade, and wells and watering places dug (2nd rock edict ; 7th of Delhi-Topra). And he was not content with doing all this within his own empire ; from the earliest days after his conversion he tried to help foreigners to do the same thing, since

he tried to extend over the frontiers the "victories of the Order", *dhammavijaya,* which must take the place of the victories of violence (4th rock edict). It is necessary to add that his gentleness was not due to weakness. He ordered that those condemned to death should be given three days' reprieve in order that, by giving alms or fasting, they should gain salvation, but he did not forbid the execution of the sentence, provided it was just (4th pillar edict).

Asoka's Empire and its Neighbours

§ 213. The countries enumerated as on the borders and placed under the suzerainty of Asoka, or as foreign and not under his rule, mark the limits of the empire and its political relations.

The former were, in the west : the Yona (Skt. Yavana), probably people of the territories ceded to Chandragupta by Seleukos ; the Gandhara of the Kubha valley ; the Kamboja, doubtless their neighbours ; the Rishtika, perhaps the Marathas (R. G. Bhandarkar) ; and also their neighbours the Bhoja and Petenika (5th and 13th rock edicts). Also among the border peoples were the Andhras of the Godavari basin ; and the Parimda or Palada, who may be connected with the Andhra and Pulinda known from the *Aitareyabrahmana* (Buhler) ; and also the Nabhaka and Nabhapamti, who are difficult to locate (13th rock edict). Several of these names are spelt differently in the different versions of the edicts. It is certain, in any case, that the authority of Asoka extended so far to the south that he could have his edicts inscribed even in the Andhra country.

The foreign peoples who had not submitted to him are almost all easier to identify. They are, in the south, the Choda, Pamdiya (or Pada, Pamda), and Keralaputra (or Keradaputra, Kelalaputa, Ketalaputa), which correspond to the three Tamil kingdoms of the Cholar (Skt. Chola, Coromandel), Pandiyar (Skt. Pandya, the kingdom of Madurai), and Cherar (Skt. Chera, Maleiyalam). They include also the Satiyaputa, who can only be placed to the north of the Keralaputra, and the Tambapamni (Skt. Tamraparni), that is to say Ceylon.

No people is mentioned to the east or to the north, but to the west Asoka names the Yona king Amtiyaka, Amtiyoga or Amtiyoka (2nd rock edict) and he enumerates four kings as "beyond" : Tulumaya or Turamaya, Amtekina, Maga or Maka, and Alikyasudala or Alikasudara (13th rock edict). They are Antiochus, Ptolemy, Antigone, Magas, and Alexander.

The names of these Greek kings are a highly important datum for fixing the chronology of Asoka.

The Chronology of Asoka

§ 214. A priori these kings might be : Antiochus I Soter (280-261) or Antiochus II Theos (261-246), Ptolemaeus Philadelphus of Egypt (285-247). Antigone of Macedonia (278-239), Magas of Cyrenaica (300-258), Alexander of Epirus (272-258), or Alexander of Corinth (252-244). The date when Asoka entered into relations with them, as with other foreigners, can only be when he had reason to believe that they were reigning simultaneously, that is when they were in fact reigning together, about 260, assuming that the Alexander is he of Epirus ; or immediately after that, since, owing to the distance and the intermittent character of the relations, the Indian emperor might be in ignorance of the death of one or more of them. On the other hand, Asoka names these kings in his 13th rock edict, which is the 14th year of his coronation, but he had already named Antiochus and alluded to his neighbours in the 2nd rock edict, one of the first of the *dhammalipi*, which he began to have inscribed in the 13th year of his coronation. His diplomatic action in relation to them must then be earlier than this 13th year, but it cannot have been earlier than his conversion, which began in the 9th year of his coronation : it is thus to be placed between the 9th and 13th year after the coronation, and most probably in the 9th, in the full flood of his remorse at having resorted to violence in conquering Kalinga at the beginning of that year.

It has been remarked that Asoka does not mention Diodotus of Bactriana, who after rebelling against Antiochus II, began to reign independently about 250, and that after that date Asoka met him and named him (Senart).

In any case, the revolt of the Parthians against the Seleucids took place in 248-247, and it cut off the relations between India and the West. Asoka could not have considered communicating with the Greek kings long after that date. Communication by sea with Egypt remained possible, it is true, but in that case it would have been Ptolemy, not Antiochus, whom Asoka named as the Greek king beyond whom were the others.

§ 215. We may now calculate the date of Asoka from the Indian evidence. If the accession of Chandragupta as king of Magadha is placed in 313, his reign having lasted 24 years according to all the sources, and that of Bindusara 28 accord-

ing to the *Mahavamsa* and 25 according to the Puranas, Asoka took power in 261 or 264. His coronation then was in 257 or 260, and the date, 9 years later, when he wished to communicate with the Greek kings, was 248 or 251. Because of the revolt of the Parthians, the date must be placed before 248, and it may even be earlier than the seizure of power by Diodotus in Bactriana about 250; thus the more probable date is 251. This agrees with the date obtained by taking the figure of the Puranas for the length of the reign of Bindusara. In this case the Alexander mentioned is probably the king of Corinth, and the Antiochus is certainly Antiochus II.

It can be objected that at that time Magas had been dead 7 years. But this objection is not decisive, since he was the king of remote Cyrenaica, whose death might well have remained for long unknown in Pataliputra. It can also be objected that the data of the *Mahavamsa* are normally more certain than those of the Puranas, and it would therefore have been more satisfactory to take the figure given in that work for the length of the reign of Bindusara. To this it can be replied that the Puranas alone would not have carried conviction, but the *Mahavamsa* alone would not have done so either, as it contains proved errors in the early period, and it is the figure given in the Puranas which satisfies the requirements of the other data we possess.

On the other hand, the adoption of this figure necessitates an adjustment in the dates assigned to the Buddha. If Bindusara reigned 25 years and not 28, then 53 years elapsed between the accession of Chandragupta and the coronation of Asoka, and, since 218 years separate the Nirvana of the Buddha and the coronation of Asoka, the period between the Nirvana and the accession of Chandragupta must have been 165 years, and the Buddha must have died in 313+165, *i.e.* 478 B.C.

The End of Asoka's Reign

§ 216. Asoka reigned 37 years according to the Singhalese chronicles, and 36 according to the Puranas. These years must evidently be counted from the accession, not the coronation: otherwise the chronology of the dynasty would show a gap of four years between Bindusara and Asoka, as the four years during which Asoka reigned before his coronation would not be taken into account. Thus his death must be placed in 227 or 226 B.C.

We know nothing in detail about his later years. Kern, who is prejudiced against him, has remarked that according

to the Buddhist sources, especially those in Sanskrit, he developed a mania for alms-giving, and became incapable of preventing one of his secondary wives, Tishyarkshita, from making use of his seal to put out the eyes of one of his sons, Kunala, then viceroy of Takshashila, or from having the Bodhi-tree destroyed. But these are pious stories which end up in miracles, and it must not be forgotten that the Buddhist monastic tradition was not interested in Asoka except as protector of the Sangha. It saw nothing about him except his generosity and his piety, and it exaggerated them naively beyond all probability in order to make them a more impressive example. It is however possible that age reduced Asoka's activity as ruler. Even if so, it remains the fact that at the height of his power he was the greatest prince of his age. Neither Rome in the middle of the IInd century B.C., nor the Egypt of the Ptolemies, attained to the grandeur and power of the Indian empire. The kingdom of the Seleucids gave way before the pressure of the Parthians. China was still fighting against the Ts'in dynasty which was later to give it unity. It Asoka remained unknown to all these peoples, in spite of the efforts which he made to communicate with the west, it was because at that time none of them knew any other people or could see in history any but itself. But his power is not his only title to fame : very few princes have been able, with so much faith, to apply to government the inspiration of a liberal religion.

Asoka's Successors

§ 217. The sources disagree on the succession of Asoka's descendants, and it is for the present impossible to draw up a table of the dynasty. It seems however that the first to succeed to the throne was Kunala, the hero of the story of Tishyarakshita, and the second was Dasharatha, of whom we have some inscriptions concerning donations of caves to the Ajivika sect, the same to whom Asoka had made similar donations. But it seems possible that the disagreement among the sources is due to a division of the empire among his sons after Asoka's death, so that the various Pauranic lists may give successions of local Maurya kings instead of a single imperial line. Dasharatha may have been a son of Asoka, and yet have reigned at the same time as Kunala. It is certain that he reigned at Magadha, where his inscriptions have been found in the Barabar hills. On the other hand, there are Buddhist texts emanating from the sects of the north-west, which represent Kunala as Asoka's successor. It is possible therefore that

Kunala inherited only the north-west part of the empire. But Kunala is the hero of a pious legend according to which he was viceroy of Takshashia in the north-west, and this is enough to have led to a later false supposition that he had been king of the north-west. The *Rajatarangini,* for its part, counts a son of Asoka named Jalauka among the kings of Kashmir next after Asoka himself, to whose empire Kashmir must have effectively belonged.

§ 218. According to the Puranas, the Maurya dynasty reigned 137 years, but petty princes continued for a long time to claim Maurya descent. In the Konkan, for example, this was the case as late as the XIth century A.D.

The last of the great Mauryas of Magadha is certainly Brihadratha, who is supposed to have been assassinated by his commander-in-chief Pushyamitra or Pushpamitra during a military review. This took place in 176 if the Maurya dynasty lasted for 137 years as the Puranas claim.

The Shunga and the Kanva

§ 219. Pushyamitra is sometimes regarded as the last of the Maurya, but more often as the founder of the Shunga dynasty. According to the Puranas he reigned 36 years, and therefore from 176 to 140 B.C., and his son Agnimitra 8 years. Kalidasa's play *Malavikagnimitra* shows Agnimitra as king, not at Pataliputra, but at Vidisha, in eastern Malava. Thus the centre of the empire was no longer at Magadha, but had been displaced to the west-south-west. In fact, for the Shunga period, we find no epigraphic or numismatic records at Magadha, although they abound to the west of Magadha, especially at Bharhut, to the south-west of Kaushambi, where two Shunga inscriptions are found, and even at Vidisha (Bhilsa, Besnagar), near which is the stupa of Sanchi (see § 100).

§ 220. If we accept the tradition used by Kalidasa, the Maurya empire did not pass undivided to the Shunga. Agnimitra is said to have defeated a king named Yajnasena who had reigned for a short time in Vidarbha, who demanded from him the release from confinement of a minister of the Maurya detained at Vidisha. This suggests a "legitimist" reaction against the Shunga, who had usurped the power of the Maurya. After the battle, Agnimitra receives a latter from Pushpamitra (Pushyamitra), his father, who signs himself general and announces that he has been crowned king, that he is about to perform the horse sacrifice, and that Vasumitra, his grandson and son of Agnimitra, has defeated some Greeks on the south

bank of the Sindhu (see § 230). Thus Pushyamitra had placed his son on the throne of East-Malava before he performed his official tour round the boundaries of the empire which he had cut out of that of the dethroned Maurya.

The grammarian Patanjali gives a grammatical example which chances to allude to Pushyamitra's great sacrifice. There is even an inscription which says that the sacrifice was made twice (see § 101). The reality of a battle with the Greeks at this period is certain. Thus the outlines of the history of Pushyamitra are fairly clear. In addition, according to the Sanskrit Buddhist sources, he was a great persecutor of the Buddhists.

§ 221. The hypothesis of a struggle between Pushyamitra and Kharavela, king of Kalinga, who defeated him at Magadha (Jayaswal) rests on a mistaken dating of the inscription (see § 100) in which Kharavela claims to have defeated a certain king of Magadha named Bahasatimita (Skt. Brihaspatimitra) and on the identification of this prince with Pushyamitra. This identification is itself founded on the fact that in Indian astronomy Pushya is a lunar mansion related to Brihaspati. But there were at least two kings who bore exactly the same name, Bahasatimita, and are known from their coins (see § 135). The name Bahasatimita occurs again in two inscriptions of different dates (see § 101). The later of these mentions at the same time an Udaka (reading doubtful), whom Jayaswal has sought to identify with Odraka or Ardraka, the fifth successor of Pushyamitra in the Pauranic lists. Moreover in the Kharavela inscription the reading Bahasatimita is doubtful (Allan).

§ 222. The local coinages of the Madhyadesha (see § 135) prove that in the Shunga era there were some dynasties reigning side by side but mostly owing some degree of allegiance to the Shunga. This is inferred from a comparison of the names which appear on the coins with those in the Pauranic lists. Not only do the names established by the coins often end in -mitra (Prakrit -mita), but they often have as their first element a name borrowed from astronomical mythology, like Jyeshtha, Dhruva, Phalguni, in addition to Brihaspati, not to mention Bhanu, Surya, Bhadra, Vasu, which though less characteristic also lend themselves to an astronomical interpretation. Now several of the names which occur in the Pauranic lists of the Shungas end in -mitra or contain an element borrowed from astronomical nomenclature, such as Pushyamitra, Agnimitra, Sujyeshtha, Vasumitra, Ardraka, Vajramitra. Leaving aside the highly improbable identification of Pushyamitra and Brihas-

patimitra, the name Agnimitra is common to the Pauranic lists and the coins, and the identification of Sujyeshtha with the Jyeshthamitra of the coins has been proposed. Thus the names obtained from the coins are in part similar to those of the Shunga of the Puranas. This is hardly explicable if the two groups of names refer to completely unrelated princes, but is quite natural if all of them belong to related lines in which the names are chosen in accordance with a common tradition. In this view, then, the Shunga appear, not as a single dynasty with one line of succession, as the Puranas represent them, but as a complex group of related rulers, or sovereigns and vassals, each possessing one or more kingdoms, and no doubt sharing the old empire of Chandragupta with other dynasties unrelated to them.

As we have seen, not only is Magadha no longer the centre of the empire, but the empire itself has broken up. The dynasty of the Kanva, which according to the majority of the Pauranic lists reigned for 45 years after the 112 years occupied by the reign of the Shunga, seems also in reality to have consisted of a number of related rulers of whom none possessed supreme power, and some actually reigned side by side with the later Shunga (Rapson). Some local rulers more or less closely related to the Shunga and the Kanva may have maintained their power after these dynasties had fallen.

§ 223. The loss of political unity in the territories of the old Mauryan empire was not accompanied by any decadence in the domain of civilisation and the arts. Those parts of the Buddhist monuments of Sanchi and Bharhut which date from Shunga times are the clearest evidence of this. The first historical appearance of the religion of the Bhagavata dates from the same period, and this religion, which is that of the *Bhagavadgita* and later of the *Bhagavatapurana,* already had sufficient prestige to attract foreigners such as the Greek Heliodorus (Heliodora), a native of Takshashila, and envoy of the king Antialkidas (Amtalikita) to the king Bhagabhadra, who set up near Vidisha a pillar dedicated to Garuda which still exists.

The weakening of the dynasty led to its ruin, for after the break-up of the Maurya empire India had to submit in the north-west to new invasions which penetrated deeper than Alexander's, while on the other hand in the south, as the power of the Shunga declined, that of the Andhra expanded.

§ 224. If the statements of the Puranas are right, the date of the fall of the Shunga will have been 64 B.C., and that

of the Kanva 19 B.C. But apart from the fact that the two dynastic groups must have reigned simultaneously if they declined together under the pressure of the Andhras, and apart from the inconsistencies in the Pauranic figures, the period assigned is a little too long. In fact Bhagabhadra, the king to whom Antialkidas sent Heliodorus, must be the Bhagavata of the Pauranic lists, which show him as the last but one of the Shunga and would place his accession at about 70 B.C. But Antialkidas can hardly be later than 100 B.C. (Tarn). Thus the fall of the Shunga and Kanva dynasties must be dated in the first half or the middle of the Ist century B.C. When we observe that this is the period of the Shaka invasions, and also the period to which Jain tradition ascribes the regeneration attributed to Vikramaditya (see § 238), we are inclined to suppose that the Shunga and the Kanva gave way simultaneously before the Saka and the Andhra.

(f) The Greek Invasions

Struggle Between Greek & Parthians

§ 225. The power of the Seleucids in the east was always precarious. The founder of the dynasty had been compelled to cede to Chandragupta the border provinces of India in 305, the 7th year of the era which he inaugurated. In 248-247 the Parthians began to shake off the Seleucid yoke, thus commencing in the Iranian state a long period of struggle between the Parthians who wished to re-establish an Iranian sovereignty and new Greek aspirants, and to make matters worse, there appeared new invaders from central Asia, eastern Iranians for the most part.

The Greek Kingdom of Bactriana

§ 226. About 250 B.C., at the same time as the Parthian Arsakes undertook the action against the Seleucids which he signalised by the establishment of the Parthian era in 248-247, Diodotos, the satrap of Bactriana, made himself independent, or perhaps only partially independent (Tarn), of Antiochos II. In 235 or 230 his son Diodotos II obtained the royal title and allied himself with the Parthians, but shortly after, in 228 or 227, he was killed and replaced by Euthydemus. Antiochos III undertook a campaign against the rebellious Parthians and satraps. About 208 he besieged Euthydemus at Zariaspa in the west of Bactria, but Euthydemus entered into negotiations and in 206 obtained terms, taking advantage of the threatening proximity of the Scythians, against whom

he protected the Greek possessions, but with whom he could at need ally himself against the Greeks. Antiochos recognised his title as king, and continued his imperial progress towards the east, which was unopposed as far as Gandhara, where he negotiated with the Indian king Sophagasenes (Subhagasena), who may be identified with Virasena, a son of Asoka according to Taranath (F. W. Thomas).

About 189 Demetrios, son of Euthydemus, succeeded him. He at once set out to conquer India, but we do not possess, as we do for Alexander, the history of his campaigns. We are reduced to vague indications as to the names of some of the Greek kings or generals and some of the successes they obtained.

In Strabo, Demetrios and Menandros are said to have occupied India as far as Saurashtra (see § 228), and Menandros epecially is said to have made more conquests in India than Alexander, for he advanced as far as the Isamos, doubtless the Yamuna, and even as far as Pataliputra. In Justin, these great expeditions are attributed to Apollodotos and Menandros. It may be supposed that Demetrios, Apollodotos and Menandros were contemporaries (Rapson), and that Apollodotos and Menandros began lieutenants of Demetrios (Tarn).

Demetrios and Menandros

§ 227. We do not know at what date Demetrios entered India, but we know that about 168, Eukratides, operating on his own, or sent by Antiochos IV to take the place of Demetrios under the Seleucid authority, took Bactriana from him by force and established his own authority as far as Kapisha. Now the *Yugapurana,* from the Indian point of view and in the conventional form of phophecy, gives an account of events which evidently corresponds to the conquest of part of India by the Greeks and the struggle between Demetrios and Eukratides. It says in fact that the Yavana invaded the Madhyadesha as far as Kusumapura (another name of Pataliputra), but could not maintain their hold on the country, war having broken out among them. It was thus about 168 B.C. that the Greeks retired from the extreme limit of their conquests to the east, very soon after having reached it. Demetrios fell soon after, but Menandros did not quit India entirely : he retained a kingdom in the Punjab with its capital at Sagala or Shakala, the name of which Demetrios had changed to Euthydemia. He is the only Greek ruler who has left an important memorial in Indian literature. The Pali *Milindapanha,* the "Questions of Milinda" (Pali version of Menandros) shows him putting a

persistent series of questions to the Buddhist master Nagasena, who answers them all and leads him to admire the religion. The text names Sagala as the capital. We have a number of of his coins, on which his name appears in the form Menadra in the Aramaeo-Indian script. They are found throughout the region from Gandhara to Mathura, which indicates approximately the bounds of his kingdom, even if for a short time. But it must not be forgotten that the discovery even of a considerable number of the coins of a king at a given place is not conclusive proof that he ever reigned there. Treasure obtained in his kingdom may have been buried beyond his frontiers. More particularly, coins may be spread by trade outside the state which issued them. In any case the Indian coins found at Mathura do not permit us to suppose that the town and its neighbourhood remained under Greek control for long. The date of the death of Menandros is uncertain, but apparently can be placed between 150 and 145 B.C.

§ 228. Apollodotos for his part extended the Greek power to the Gulf of Cambay. All that we know is that Strabo, following Apollodoros of Artemita, says that Demetrios and Menandros conquered the Patalene (the delta of the Indus) and the kingdoms of Saraostos and Sigerdis. The latter is not identified, but it is to be supposed that Saraostos is Saurashtra, that is the coast of the Gulf of Cambay. Then in Justin, Apollodotos is named in place of Demetrios as a king together with Menandros, and since the name of Menandros is otherwise associated with the Punjab, it is probable that it was Apollodotos, acting initially on behalf of Demetrios, who marched to the south. Tarn considers it certain that he ruled the region of Barygaza (Barukaccha, Broach) because the author of the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* states that in his time, that is towards the end of the Ist century A.D., the coins of Apollodotos and Menandros were current there. However, this act is an equally valid proof that Menandros conquered Saurashtra, and it is to him that Strabo attributes that feat. Moreover, the currency in the great commercial centre of western India of coins two centuries old merely proves that they had been issued in great numbers and that they were satisfactory in weight and standard. Barygaza, which carried on a long-distance trade with the interior of India, must have received coins from every part of the country; among these the Greek coins were naturally noticed by the Greek merchant. The fact constitutes no proof of a prolonged tenure of power at Barygaza by Apollodotos. Apollodotos appears to have

marched back towards Bactriana in order to oppose Eukratides, and to have died shortly before 160 (Tarn). However, the trade between the Barygaza region and the north-west remained very important.

§ 229. The conquests of Demetrios, Menandros and Apollodotos, which attained their maximum extent at the time when Demetrios had to turn to face the opposition of Eukratides, about 168, occurred during the reign of Pushyamitra, who must have overthrown the Maurya in 176 and died in 140. Menandros reigned at the same time as he, and died at the same time or a little earlier. It was Pushyamitra, entitled "general" by most of the sources who had to sustain the struggle against the Yavana. It is reasonable to suppose that it was the overthrow of the Maurya and the internal divisions consequent upon it (see § 220), which tempted Demetrios to undertake an enterprise before which, in Chandragupta's time, Seleukos had recoiled.

The retreat of the Yavana, caused by the rebellion of Eukratides in Bactriana, no doubt allowed Pushyamitra to regain part of the territory which he had briefly lost. We do not know whether his armies hastened the retreat, but it probable that he obtained at least the semblance of a victory, and that it is this which explains why he performed the horse sacrifice, which was particularly appropriate for a victor.

§ 230. The mention of a victory obtained by his grandson on the south bank of the Sindhu is usually regarded as referring to the events to which Patanjali's grammatical examples allude : "the Greek besieged Chaketa, the Greek besieged the Madhyamika". Chaketa is identified with Ayodhya, capital of Koshala, or was near it, and must have been attacked by the Greeks on the march towards Pataliputra. But the Madhyamika have been identified with the "people of Madhyamika", a town of Rajasthan in the Chitor region. The statement that the Greeks advanced into Rajasthan is corroborated by Strabo, according to whom they advanced as far as Saurashtra. The Sindhu, on the south bank of which they suffered a check, is generally identified with the Kalisindhu, a tributary of the Charmanvati, about 100 miles to the east of Madhyamika. The siege of this town and the defeat on the banks of the Sindhu refer to the same campaign. Another Sindhu, a tributary of the Yamuna, has been proposed as the site. According to Mazumdar, strongly opposed by Tarn, this Sindhu is rather the Sindhu proper, the Indus. The Kalisindhu, which

runs straight from south to north, has no south bank, and the tributary of the Yamuna runs generally in the north-south direction, though at one point it makes a bend which gives it for some distance a south-east bank. The grandson of Pushyamitra might have stopped a Greek army there, but in that case the battle would have taken place near Vidisha, whereas in Kalidasa's play Agnimitra learns of it as from a great distance. Above all, the battle must have taken place during the great Greek invasion, whereas, according to Kalidasa's indications, the Greeks had attacked the Indians during the passage of the horse destined for the sacrifice, and Pushyamitra's triumphal sacrifice must be supposed to have taken place only after the Greeks had retreated. Everything is best explained if Kalidasa's text is taken to refer to the Indus, which the Greeks were recrossing at the moment when Pushyamitra was about to perform the triumphal sacrifice. After the confluence of its great tributaries the Indus flows south-west, and therefore has a south-east bank. On the other bank were Arachosia and Gedrosia, which certainly remained in Greek hands. It is probably there, on the bank exposed to Greek raids, that the engagement with Pushyamitra's grandson took place.

The End of the Indo-Greek Kingdoms

§ 231. The greater number of the Greek princes, successors of Menandros, are known to us only by name. It is probable that several of them reigned simultaneously in various parts of the north-west, since there are too many of them to have reigned successively in the rather short period of their dominion.

In Bactriana it was not long before the house of Eukratides fell. About 160-159 the Parthians under Mithridates I took some territory from Eukratides himself. His son Heliokles, who according to Justin murdered him, expanded his state at the expense of Straton, the successor of Menandros, but before 130 lost Bactriana to invaders from central Asia (see § 235), and died soon after. Antialkidas, after him, must have ruled Gandhara and the western Punjab, and must have died about 100 B.C. or later (Tarn). The kingdom of the house of Euthydemus must have split up quickly into many parts; from the start of the conquest the generals or viceroys coined money each in his own province. Pantaleon, and Agathokles, son of Demetrios, must have reigned successively, but in the same period as Apollodotos, Menandros and others. Their coins

resemble each other and are more Indianised than those of other Indo-Greek dynasties. These dynasties are located hypothetically according to the places where their coins are found most plentifully. Between 80 B.C. and the beginning of the Christian era, the last centres of Greek power disappeared in the struggles against the new invaders of India, the Saka. Hippostratos and Nikias were certainly the last Greek kings of the eastern Punjab, and Hermaios the last of Kapisha.

The Iranian Invasions

§ 232. Some peoples called "Scythian", Iranian nomads, occupied from early times the territories on the borders of the Achemenian empire. The Saka, who were numbered among these peoples, are found mentioned in the inscriptions of Darius I and later, together with the Bactrians, the Sogdians and the Gandharians. They were turbulent people, since Darius had to suppress a revolt by them at the same time as he dealt with a revolt of the Parthians and of some other provinces. During the Hellenic domination they remained unsubdued and menacing (see § 226). Pressure from the east drove them, in the IInd century B.C., to attack the kingdoms of eastern Iran, which had been isolated by the establishment of the Parthian kingdom in the IIIrd century B.C.

The Yue-che and the Saka

§ 233. The *Historical Memoirs* of Sseu-ma Ts'ien and the *Annals of the Earlier Hans* give us information on this movement of the nomads from east to west. A little before 176 B.C. the Hiong-nu, the Huns of Inner Mongolia, defeated the Yue-che of western Kansu and, about 156, crushed them definitely, forcing the majority of them, the Ta Yue-che or "Great Yue-che", to emigrate towards the west, while a smaller group, the Siao Yue-che, the "Little Yue-che", settled to the south-east of the Koko-nor, where they remained for some centuries. The Ta Yue-che in their march to the west came to the region of Issik-kul and thence drove before them some peoples whom the Chinese called Sai (ancient pronunciation Sak),* that is the Saka (Skt. Chaka). In the same region the Ta Yue-che had to contend with the Wu-Suen, people with blue eyes and red beards, who obtained the support of the Hiong-nu. Finally about 160 the Ta Yue-che passed into Ferghana and Sogdiana, driving the Saka before them. The result was the invasion of Bactriana by a mixed body of nomads : Strabo (XI, 8, 4)

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* Sak, as in *suc* cess.

says that they included the Asioi, Pasianoi, Tocharoi and Sakarauloi. The summary of the great lost *History* of Pompeius Trogus, for its part, mentions that the Saraucae and the Asiani occupied Bactria and Sogdiana (XLI). Elsewhere it refers to the "Asiani, kings of the Thocari and the destruction of the Saraucae" (XLII).

§ 234. It is not difficult to recognise the Asiani as the Asioi, the Tochari as the Tocharoi, and the Saraucae as the Sakarauloi. It is more difficult to establish a correspondence between the Chinese and the Greco-Latin data. The Sakarauloi seem (Herrmann) to correspond to the *Sai-wang* of the Chinese, literally the "Saka kings", whose name itself corresponds to a Sanskritised designation of the Saka, Chakamurunda, "Saka Prinices" (Sten Konow).

Thus we have the fact that Yue-che came from Kansu, leaving some of their number there, and the fact that Ptolemaeus, two and a half centuries later, locates the "Thagouroi" in a region which must be Kansu. Moreover, the Chinese, at least from the IVth and Vth centuries A.D. (Pelliot) gave the name Yue-che to peoples whom the Sanskrit texts called Tukhara, that is Tokharians. The Yue-che have therefore often been identified with the Tokharoi, but there is a certain confusion in the use of the name Yue-che by the Chinese sources in different periods. Other identifications have been suggested, but rarely accepted : the Wu-suen with the Asioi, and also with the Scytho-Sarmatians called Alians (Charpentier). What is certain is that the Scythian tribes mentioned by Strabo as having invaded Bactriana were not a coherent body but fought among themselves or were in part subjugated one by another. Moreover, as we shall see, they must have arrived in Bactriana in succession.

§ 235. So far as concerns the invasion of Bactriana, Sseu-ma Ts'ien says that the Yue-che subjugated the Ta-Hia to the south of the Oxus, in a region which is certainly Bactriana. The event was recent in 128, where the Chinese ambassador Chang K'ien, from whom Sseu-ma Ts'ien obtained his information, arrived among them : it can be dated probably about 130. According to Chang-K'ien the capital of the Yue-che was north of the Oxus, and that of the Ta-Hia, whom they had recently subdued, was to the south of it. The Ta-Hia lived in towns and had no great kings ; they were therefore probably a local people, who had been settled there for a more or less long period, and must have been subdued by the Greeks. But

Chang K'ien does not mention the Greeks, who had been driven out shortly before his arrival and had left the country without a central power. Marquart considers that the Ta-Hia are the Tokharians, and these are therefore not the Yue-che. These latter, who according to the Chinese evidence had defeated the Saka and subjugated the Ta-Hia, were the Asiani of Pompeius Trogus, kings of the Thocari and destroyers of the Saraucae.

§ 236. Ta-Hia was a name of a mythical people of the west whom the Chinese may have thought they had found in Bactriana (Haloun), and it is probable that they used that name in the IInd century B.C. as their equivalent of the name of the Tokharians (Pelliot). The theory that the Tokharians are the Ta-Hia of Bactriana is plausible, but it presupposes that the Tokharians, who according to Strabo were nomads when they entered Bactriana after 160, had become sedentary town-dwellers before 128, when Chang K'ien knew them as the Ta-Hia. The question, complicated by other details and theories, has not been settled. In any case, Chang K'ien did not find the Saka in Bactriana in 128. If they entered this country during the great migration of the Yue-che, whose pressure forced them to move, they had already been driven out again. In fact we know that in 128 exactly they were fighting to the west of Bactriana against the Parthians, and killed their king Phraates II (Justin, XLII). The Parthians however were not defeated, and some years later were able to attack the Tokharians in Bactriana. There, in 123, they lost their king Artaban I, whose son Mithridates II, the Great (123-88), was able finally to dispel the Scythian danger.

The Saka in India

§ 237. Pressed between the Parthians and the Tokharians, the Saka for the most part emigrated southward, and in Drangiana (Skt. Sakasthana, "residence of the Saka", modern Seistan), and in Arachosia, mingled with peoples who were related to them. Also, according to the *Annals of the Earlier Hans,* while the Yue-che subdued the Ta-Hia, the Saka subdued the Ki-pin. The question has been discussed whether the two movements were caused one by the other, or were simultaneous but independent. The second hypothesis is supported by the fact that the name Ki-pin in the ancient Chinese sources designates Kashmir (Pelliot). The statement of the *Annals of the Earlier Hans* would then refer to a Saka migration different from that caused by the pressure of the Yue-che between Bactriana and Parthia. This second Saka wave, independent

of the first, may have started from the region of Khotan, and reached Kashmir by crossing the Karakoram. However it may be, in regard to these Sakas proceeding from Khotan, a balance of power was gradually attained between the Parthians and the Saka in Drangiana and Arachosia. The Parthians claimed the suzerainty, but at least once, in 77, they received their king from the Sakaraulae. This king, Sinatruces, was in fact a Parthian prince, the son of Artaban II, but he had been exiled among the Sakaraulae (Pseudo-Lucian). There were normally Saka satraps ruling under the Parthian kings. The Sanskrit texts associate the two names intimately, and call them Saka and Pahlava (at that time the Iranian form for Parthia).

Finally, at the beginning of the Ist century B.C., two, and possibly three, "Scythian" groups were at the gates of India, one to the south, the Saka of Drangiana and Arachosia; a group to the north-west, the Tokharians of Bactriana; and perhaps a group to the north, the Saka of Khotan, who had already established themselves in Kashmir. After the last named, the other two groups entered India successively.

§ 238. The Saka of the south entered the valley of the lower Indus by the Baluchistan passes. The *Kalakacharyaka-thanaka* says that the Jain master Kalaka was living among the Saka when a group of their princes were disgraced by the king of kings; Kalaka led them into India, where they overthrew Gardabhilla, the king of Ujjayini, and set themselves up in his place in Avanti (western Malava). Vikramaditya, king of the neighbouring state to Malava, soon drove them out again, and in commemoration of his victory inaugurated the era which is still in use in India and bears his name, or simply the name Vikrama, and begins in 58 B.C. In the 136th year of this era, when a new Saka conquest took place, the Saka era (78 A.D.) was started. This account is plausible (see §§ 260, 265). If it is true, it may be supposed that the Saka, repulsed from Avanti, at least remained in possession of the lower Indus. Moreover, they must have marched up the Indus valley to the Punjab.

The Scytho-Parthian Sovereigns

§ 239. The coins and inscriptions indicate that the Iranians soon set up in their new possessions a "king of kings" distinct from that of Drangiana and Arachosia. Two satraps governed under his suzerainty. The first (or one of the first) king of kings in India was Moa or Moga, called Maues on coins with Greek legends. An inscription from his reign, on

copper, is dated 78 of an unspecified era. This date may correspond to 77, 72 or 70 B.C. (see § 228). The plate was found at Taxila. Judging from his coins, Moa appears to have occupied Gandhara while the Greeks still controlled his state up to Kapisha in the west and the eastern Punjab in the east.

The succession of the Scytho-Parthian rulers is known, thanks above all to the work of Rapson. After Moa, Azes I and Azilizes seem to have succeeded in eliminating the Greek rulers. Azes I is often credited with the foundation of the era which begins in 58 B.C., but according to the Jains this is an Indian era founded to commemorate the defeat of a Saka force (see § 238). There follow Azes II, and then Gondophares, who before becoming "king of kings" in India must have been viceroys of Arachosia, the former under the king of kings Vonones, the latter under Orthagnes.

Gondophares and his Successors

§ 240. Gondophares is the best known of the Scytho-Parthian kings, or as his dynasty is called, the Indo-Parthians. His name occurs in numerous variants. The original Persian form must be Vindafarna, "He who brings victory". The Indian form in the inscriptions is Guduvhara (vha=fa). It is he to whom, according to the legend, St. Thomas the Apostle came when he entered upon his mission in India. The story of the *Acts of Thomas* is that King Gudnaphar sent to the west a merchant with orders to bring an architect, and it was in that capacity that St. Thomas came to India. The king's commission to the merchant is quite plausible in itself, since the prestige of Hellenistic art was high in India—the history of art proves it—as also in the Iranian world, even though the political power of the Greeks had been overthrown. Moreover the *Acts of St. Thomas* figure in an apocryphal decretal of Pope Gelasius among the books which had been condemned in 494 A.D. as tainted with Manicheism. This fact creates a presumption in favour of a certain historical basis. Manichean circles knew India, where Mani had travelled, and on which they had made a certain impression. The legend must at least have been framed so as to seem probable to them. If the journey of St. Thomas to the court of Gondophares had been an anachronism, it would not have been possible to get the Manicheans to believe the story. The reign of Gondophares, then, occupies a large part of the first half of the Ist century of our era. St. Thomas is said to have been assassinated at

Mylapore (near Madras), later called San Thome, where there stand two crosses, of which one is believed to make the place of his death. The successor of Gondophares seems to have been Pakores, whose power apparently centred in Arachosia or the Punjab.

§ 241. Under the Saka and Pahlava the effective power seems to have been disseminated among the governors whom the kings appointed under their suzerainty, the satraps or "strategoi", heirs to the functions created formerly by the Achemenians and the Greeks, but now bearing Saka titles like *erjhuna,* "prince". From the inscriptions and coins we know many of these princes or governors, of whom some had become Indianised, judging from names like Aspavarman, in which *aspa,* "horse", is Iranian, but *varman,* "breast-plate", is Indian, and in theory characteristic of Kshatriya clans. Some of the satraps' governments became veritable kingdoms. That is no doubt the case with Mathura under the Mahakshatrapa Rajuvula (see §§ 98, 138) and his son Shodasa who governed in 14 A.D. (see § 102).

§ 242. Shortly after Gondophares and Pakores, the Saka-Pahlava of the north and of Mathura were overthrown by other Iranians who had newly entered India, the Kushana. The offices of satrap and strategos seem to have been maintained after this change of suzerainty. But another group of the Saka-Pahlava, those of western India, the Kshaharata and the Kshatrapa of Ujjayini, were to enjoy a different fate. Probably under the suzerainty of the Kushana, they continued to face the Indian states of the Dekkan right down to the Gupta period. Their history is part of the history of those states (see §§ 266 et seq).

The Kushana

§ 243. As we have seen, Sseu-ma Ts'ien states that the Ta Yue-che, about 130 B.C., subjugated the Ta-Hia, who are certainly the Tokharians, established in Bactriana (see § 235). The *Annals of the Earlier Hans* adds that there were among them five Hi-heou (yabgu, a title identical with the yabgu of the later Turkish texts), "princes", and this agrees well with the inference that they had no great kings. But the *Annals of the Later Hans* insists that it was the Ta Yue-che who divided the country of the Ta-Hia into five principalities after having conquered it, and add that "more than a hundred years" later K'iu-tsiu-ki, at first Hi-heou of Kweli-chwang, brought the other Hi-heou under his sway. The kingdom then took

the name Kwei-chawang, but the Chinese continued to call it the land of the Ta-Yue-che. The principal theories have been put forward to interpret these facts. The first accepts the statements of the *Annals of the Later Hans* that the Hi-heou were Ta Yue-che princes. The other theory suggests that the indications to this effect, which are later than the statements of the *Annals of the Earlier Hans,* are secondary suppositions, and that the Hi-heou must have been Ta-hians. This latter view is the less probable, for if the Hi-heou of Kwei-chawang who took the supreme power was a Ta-hia, he belonged originally to the conquered element of the Bactrian population, and he must first have thrown off the yoke of the Ta-Yue-che. None of our sources suggests that he had to do this. In the present state of our information, then, it seems more probable that the Hi-heou of Kwei-chawang was a Ta Yue-che, although the Ta Yue-che were able to preserve an old division of the country made by the Ta-hia. It is also likely that after a century and more of domination by the Ta Yue-che in Bactriana, some intermixture had taken place between the Ta Yue-che and the Ta-hia. Probably, too, the top groups were originally not dissimilar, and spoke the same eastern Iranian language, for it is this language alone, in a form closely similar to that found later in Khotan, which is to be discerned through the Greek and Prakrit of their coins.

§ 244. The name Kwei-chwang appears, in the Prakrit of the coins, as Kushana, which represents an eastern Iranian adjective Kushana, derived from the name *Kusha* and meaning "of the Kusha, the Kushian". The Greek form found on the coins, Kosano, corresponds moreover to an Iranian form Kushanu, the genitive plural of Kusha. The designation Kushana or Kushâna has remanied in use for the whole dynasty of K'iu-tsiu-kio. This name of the first of the great Kushana of Bactriana is in Prakrit Kujulakasa or Kuyulakaphsa, etc., and in Greek Kozoulokadphises, etc. The name Kujulakasa is found again borne by Liaka Kusulaka, (see § 262), a Saka satrap of the Punjab, mentioned in an inscription of Moga dated 78 (see § 96). This fact reinforces the presumption of a relation of the Saka with the Yue-che, or in any case with the Kushana.

§ 245. Kujulakadphises, as it has become the unfortunate custom to call him, must have established his supremacy in Bactriana after 30 B.C., if the conquest of that country by the Yue-che took place in 130 and if he took power more than a hundred years after that (see § 243). In fact he seems to have

been born about 10 A.D., and to have begun to reign only about 30 A.D. (Ghirshman).

He did not delay, according to the *Annals of the Later Hans,* in attacking the Parthians and the Ki-pin (?) and in taking Kabul. Apparently the attack on the Parthians was not a separate expedition from the capture of Kabul, which was then in the possession of the Indo-Parthians. The result was that he had crossed the Hinduskush in the direction of India. It has been supposed that he first appeared at Kabul as the ally of the Greek ruler Hermaios, whom he later overthrew, since some of his coins still carry the figure of Hermaios; but this argument is without value, since others of his coins bear a figure which strongly recalls that of Augustus. It is almost certain that Hermaios had already been overthrown by the Partho-Scythians (see § 231), and that in issuing his coins Kujulakaphsa merely imitated those already in circulation or some which happened to appeal to him. Those with a figure resembling Augustus are of very great importance, since they prove the relations between the Roman empire and Bactriana, relations which were pointed out already by Reinaud, (who however placed them wrongly in the time of Kanishka).

§ 246. Moreover, the effigy resembles that on the latest of Augustus' coins, which could have reached Bactriana only about 20 A.D. at the earliest. This agrees with the Chinese evidence that the Kushana unification was achieved more than a hundred years after the conquest of Bactriana by the Yue-che in about 130 B.C.; and more particularly with the chronology of Ghirshman which places his accession at about 30 A.D. The Chinese statement should then be taken to mean that the unification took place *much* more than a hundred years after the conquest.

The Chinese *Annals* inform us that when Kujulakaphsa died he was over eighty. His reign then must have come to an end in 91 or 92 A.D., after he had conquered Kapisha about 50 A.D. and Gandhara before 65 A.D. and had suffered a check in central Asia in a war against the Chinese (Ghirshman, see § 248). In India he seems to have extended his conquests considerably (see § 265).

Vimakadphises

§ 247. Kujulakaphsa was succeeded by his son Vimakadphises, in Greek Ooemokadphises (and several variants). It is he who established his power completely over northern India, replacing that of the Indo-Parthians in Gandhara and the

Punjab. It is he who was responsible for the greatest extension of the Kushan power in India, since he inscribed on his coins the title *Sarvalogishwara,* "Lord of the whole world".

He does not seem to have fixed his personal residence in India. He governed the country through a viceroy, perhaps the Soter Megas of the coins, if this designation, "Great Saviour", was applied only to one superior official, and not to various satraps, as is usually supposed (see § 140). Like his father, he died at over 80. An inscription at Khalatse in Ladakh would be of great importance for fixing the period of his reign, if it could be interpreted with certainty. It is a simple date : "Year 187 (or 184) of the Maharaja Uvimakavthisa." The date could be interpreted as of the Scythian era of about 150 B.C. (see § 96) : it would then correspond to 34 or 37 A.D. But an inscribed silver plate, found at Taxila, mentioning an unnamed Kushan emperor, would be dated 136 of Azes (Marshall, followed by Sten Konow). The era of Azes or the Vikrama era must then have been used by the Kushana, and if this is the era referred to in the Khalatse inscription, the date of this is equivalent to 126 or 129 A.D. This last figure is the only one which agrees with the most probable chronology of the Kushan dynasty.

According to Sten Konow, the conquest of India by Vimakadphises is to be dated 78 A.D., and this is the point of origin of the Saka era (see § 238). According to Ghirshman the event took place about 99 A.D.

§ 248. Apart from the conquest of India, we know the important events of the reign of the Kushana in the Ist century A.D., but uncertainty as to dates often prevents us from knowing whether an event took place under Vimakadphises, or under his father or his successor. The relations with the Roman empire probably occurred under Vimakadphises ; diplomatic relations with China existed in all three reigns ; but it must have been Kujulakaphsa who waged a war with the Chinese. It was in any case in 90 A.D. that the Yue-che sent an army to support the cases of the Tarim basin, then in revolt against the Chinese, who had recently placed them under their suzerainty. Moreover, the Chinese general, Pan Tch'ao who was then the ruler of central Asia, had just sent back a Yue-che ambassador who had come to demand the hand of a Chinese princess for his master. The expedition, drawn into the desert, and cut off from supplies by Pan Tch'ao, perished without a fight. This shows at least that the Kushana were not directing

all their efforts towards India. Situated in Bactriana, at the point of contact of the three worlds, Parthian, Chinese and Indian, they could not encroach upon Parthia, which was too powerful, they acted against China in central Asia, but they succeeded only against India.

KANISHKA

§ 249. The successor, though perhaps not the immediate successor, of Vimakadphises was the greatest of the Kushana, Kanishka. We do not know if there was any relation between him and Vimakadphises.

His reign must have begun, as has been argued, in 78 or even earlier if the era called the Saka era of 78 A.D. was founded by him ; or only about 128-129 if it is an era of that date which is due to him. But Ghirshman has argued that before and after the series of Kushan kings from Kanishka to Vasudeva, the inscriptions appear to refer to an era of Azes-Vikrama, leaving an interval of 98 years in which are to be placed the inscriptions of Kanishka to Vasudeva, of which the dates are less than a hundred. He estimates that this interval corresponds exactly to the period of the dynasty of Kanishka, ending with the defeat inflicted on Vasudeva by Shahpuhr. He assumes that the date of this defeat was 242. The date of the accession of Kanishka and of the commencement of his era would then be 144 A.D. However, the explanation of the anomalous 98 years in the series of dates of the inscriptions does not necessarily correspond exactly to the period of the dynasty from Kanishka to Vasudeva. We can only say that we have no inscriptions bearing dates lower in the series, without being able to assert that none has ever existed. Above all, it is not certain that Shahpuhr defeated Vasudeva exactly in 242. But we can say that approximately a century elapsed between the accession of Kanishka and the defeat suffered by Vasudeva between 241 and 251. That being so, the date 144 is reasonably probable. The year 144 A.D. is the first year of the third century of the era of Azes-Vikrama (201). If Kanishka took that year as the first of his own era, everything happened simply as if he and his successors dated their inscriptions by the Azes-Vikrama era without writing in the hundreds figure.

The Buddhist Sanskrit literature has, with good reason, ascribed to Kanishka a glorious record of achievement. It shows him as reigning primarily in Gandhara, where he had a winter capital at Purushapura (Peshawar), while he lived at

Kapisha (Begram) in the summer. It shows him as master of Kashmir ; a tradition which is confirmed by the *Rajatarangini*. It attributes to him the conquest of eastern India. Actually, inscriptions dating from his reign are found not only in the north-west but in central India at Mathura and as far as Sarnath near Banaras. It seems that he conquered, at least through his vassals, a part of the Dekkan (see § 265).

§ 250. We possess an inscribed statue of him, though unfortunately it lacks the head and arms. He is represented also on the reliquary of Peshawar (see § 98), and on his coins. At first sight his appearance is quite foreign to India. He has a full beard, and his dress is Scythian (see § 140). His titles are only partly Indian : he calls himself *Maharaja,* but also in the Parthian manner "King of Kings", in Indian *Rajatiraja,* and also *Devaputra.* This last is a translation of the Chinese title "Son of Heaven", rendered in Pehlevi at this period by the term *Baghpur,* and coinciding with the title "Son of God" then being popularised by Christianity (S. Levi). These titles symbolise Kanishka's position : far from being a strictly Indian emperor, he was the master of the great crossroads of the active civilisations of his time.

§ 251. It was the civilisation of India which gained most from this exceptional position. Buddhist tradition shows Kanishka as a devout Buddhist, a devotee of holy relics, and a builder of stupas, in particular at Peshawar. He is in fact the first king to have had the image of the Buddha shown on his coins, though Iranian deities appear on them far more frequently. It would probably be wrong to look to his coinage for an indication of his personal religion. The successor of the Scythian who issued coins bearing the images of Hermaios and Augustus probably left the choice of designs to the various peoples over whom he reigned. What is certain is that the union, under his assuredly benevolent authority, of Iranian lands open to central Asia and a part of India where Buddhism flourished gave that religion an immense field for expansion and placed it on the road to China. It is not by chance that the Sarvastivadin sect, powerful in the north-west and favoured by Kanishka (see § 98), was found by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuan-tsang in the VIIth century well established in the oases of the Tarim basin, where some remnants of its texts have been discovered.

Kanishka is supposed in particular to have established the influence of India and of Buddhism at Khotan, an eastern

Iranian land. This is easily explained, since the language of the Kushana, so far as we can discover, is particularly close to that of Khotan (see § 243).

§ 252. Through its partial conquest by the Kushana, Indian culture found an opportunity and a road of expansion.

It also drew from its contacts with the foreigners elements which enriched it. It is true that this contact began well before Kanishka, but at no time was it greater than under him. It is the Indo-Greeks and the Indo-Parthians who were the true bearers of the influences of the west, particularly the Hellenistic culture, to India. The art of Gandhara developed in the Ist century B.C. and flowered in the Ist century A.D. (Foucher); its decadence began under the Kushana, but its vitality was not exhausted till the IInd or IIIrd century A.D. In science, Indian borrowings from Hellenism began under the Indo-Greek domination but continued under the Kushana, and it is under their empire, thanks to the great unification which Kanishka particularly achieved, that the Gnosis (knowledge) of Alexandria and the ideas of Iran began to make their way into Indian thought.

Under Kanishka Sanskrit culture was active and brilliant. The Prakrit of some of the inscriptions of his time, in particular that of Sue Vihara, is highly Sanskritised. According to tradition he attracted to his court the great Buddhist poet Ashvaghosha and the physician Charaka. A council was held in his reign which decided the larger part of the Sanskrit texts of the Sarvastivadins.

Kanishka must have died, assassinated by his officers, during a military expedition in the north.

The Successors of Kanishka

§ 253. The immediate successors of Kanishka appear to have been Vasishka his son, and then Kanishka II, son "of Vajheshka", that is doubtless of Vasishka. From the dates of the inscriptions by which we know them, these two kings must have reigned for a total period of about 20 years after Kanishka. Huvishka, who comes next, is better known. He is mentioned by the *Rajatarangini* as king of Kashmir under the name Hushka. A certain Jushka mentioned by the same source is not identified with certainty. It is possible that he is to be identified with Vasushka, the successor of Huvishka. The *Rajatarangini* calls these kings not Kushana but Turushka, "Turks", thus confusing two barbarian races from High Asia,

A series of princes of whom little is known bring the decadent dynasty to an end, after the reign of Vasudeva, the unfortunate rival of the Sassanians, and the last of the "great Kushana", the immediate successors of Kanishka. Vasudeva is recognisable in the Po-tiao who, according to the *San-kuo che,* sent an ambassador to China in 230, and in the Vehsadjan of whom the Armenian historian Sebeos says that Khosroes I of Armenia obtained his alliance in 227 to 228 against the founder of the Sassanian dynasty, Ardashir (224-241). He was still on the throne, according to one of his inscriptions, in the year 98 of the era of Kanishka, and it is apparently he under whom took place an event of great importance, the defeat of the Kushana by Shahpuhr I. The inscription of this price found at Naksh-i-Rustam (see § 52) claims the conquest from the Kushana of a great part of central Asia, of Peshawar and of Hind, that is the Indus valley, especially Sind. This conquest took place between 241 and 251 A.D. (Ghirshman). It is possible that it marked the end of Vasudeva, but it is also possible that he continued to reign for some time over his reduced possessions. In any case Kushan dynasties are still found in north-west India for two centuries after this event. We do not at present know for how long that part of India which fell to the Sassanians remained within the Iranian empire, but it is certain that the cultural exchanges between Iran and India in this period were more important than ever.

§ 254. According to the Chinese Annals (Pei-che), in the first half of the Vth century some Ta Yue-che of central Asia, driven out by the Mongol horde of the Jeu-Jan or Juan-Juan or by the Hiong-nu, emigrated to Bactriana and then invaded northern India.

The same movement of populations which had taken place in the IInd century B.C. after the arrival in Bactriana of the first Yue-che now repeated itself. This time the Ta Yue-che had as king a certain Ki-to-lo, whose name corresponds to Kidara, who is known from some coins. They are also known in the history of Byzantium under the name Kidaritai. According to the *Pei-che,* Ki-to-lo installed his son at Fu-liu-cha, that is at Peshawar, and from that time the kingdom of this son was called that of the "Little Yue-che", *Siao Yue-che.*

The last kings of the Kushan dynasty disappeared about 450 A.D. on the arrival of these Kidarites, who were themselves destined shortly after to be driven out by the Hephthalite Huns (see § 290).

(g) The Kingdoms of the West and the Deccan

The Andhrabhritya

§ 255. The Puranas say that the Kanva were shortly succeeded by a dynasty of Andhra or Andhrabhritya, whose founder had overthrown the last of the Kanva, Susharman. These two dynasties, the Kanva and the Andhrabhritya, must then have reigned in succession over the same country. Some of the names of the sovereigns who are placed among the Andhrabhritya in the Pauranic lists are also found in inscriptions and on coins. The examination of these authentic sources shows that there is a great deal of truth in the Puranas, but that the series of events must be pictured otherwise than they represent it. Up to a certain point, too, they themselves provide the means whereby they are to be corrected.

The Kingdom of the Andhrabhritya

§ 256. The centre of political power, which was at Magadha before and during the Maurya period, moved to the west-south-west under the Shunga (see § 219), and it is exactly this region to the west which provides us with the greatest number of monuments from the following period. This may be due to the chance of discovery and preservation, but it suggests that political events were more numerous and more important there than in the east and north-east. This assumption is reinforced by the fact that the north-west and west were the scene of foreign invasions which called forth political movements and reactions and opened channels of commercial and cultural exchange. In any case it is in the west that the activities of the Indian kingdoms after the Shunga period are best documented. But the name of the Andhra as holders of the principal power takes us in another direction, to the south-east. The Andhra country proper is the basin of the Godavari, but more especially the Telugu country, the region between the lower courses of the Godavari and the Krishna.

We infer therefore that the Andhra kingdom must have extended considerably towards the west, from the Telugu to the Maratha country and the Konkan, after the establishment of the dynasty known from the Puranas. In fact the earliest sovereigns of this dynasty are already mentioned (Buhler) in the inscriptions of Nanaghat, a pass in the Western Ghats which gives access to the region of the present Bombay (see § 103).

Origin of the Andhrabhritya

§ 257. But the earliest inscriptions of the princes of the dynasty, in particular an inscription at Nasik which gives a detailed list of the possessions of Siri Pulumayi Vasithiputa, makes no allusion to the Andhra country properly so called. An inscription dated in the region of the same prince, and another in that of a Siri Sivamaka Sada at Amaravati are certainly within the borders of that country and of the Dravida. But donative inscriptions, as the former of these is, and no doubt the latter also, can be engraved in a place of pilgrimage by foreign donors using the era and dating of their own country. It has therefore been questioned whether the dynasty was Andhra in origin. It has been suggested that its place of origin was Shatavahanihara, in the Bellary district of the Kannara country (Sukhthankar), or at Paithana on the upper Godavari, in the country of the Petenika of Asoka (Subrahmanian).

It may be observed, moreover, that the princes in question may have been of other than Telugu origin. They are designated in their inscriptions and on their coins by the family names of Satakani or Satavahana (Skt. Shatakarnin, Shatavahan), or by the little of Vilivayakura. The two former names may conceal Munda words meaning "son of the horse", and correspond to the Satiyaputa of Asoka. The third occurs again in Beleokouros, a name given by Ptolemy as that of the king of the royal town of Hippokoura (modern Kolhapur ?). Hippo- must be the Greek translation of "horse", while -koura means "town" (Przyluski). Hence it can be understood why the Puranas used the designation Andhrabhritya side by side with the less exact Andhra. Andhrabhritya means "servants of the Andhra". Thus the name refers to the western vassals of the Andhra of the south-east, and not to the Andhra in the strict sense. These vassals were eventually to outshine their suzerains. The term Andhrabhritya may also be compared to the compound *kumarabhritya*, "one who looks after children" (not, as the form *bhritya* should mean, "one who has to be cared for by children"). The princes in question would then be "those who support the Andhra". In fact it was the trade with the west, the great importance of which, especially in the Ist century A.D., is fully proved, which at this period built up the wealth of the Dekkan. Moreover the trade with the west penetrated as far as the Andhra country proper and even beyond. The influence of the Greco-Buddhist art of Gandhara on that of Amaravati in the lower valley

of the Krishna is proof of it, though there was also at the same time an active seaborne trade with the west round the south of India.

Divisions of the Kingdom

§ 258. When we refer to Ptolemy, we find that the kingdom of the Andhrabhritya was divided in his time (about 150 A.D.). Ptolemy clearly distinguishes Baithana (Paithana, Pratishthana), the royal town of Siriptolemaios (Siri Pulumayi), Hippokoura, the royal town of Beleokouros (Vilivayakura), and the interior towns of Andron Peiraton, "Andhra pirates" (S. Levi). Thus we can distinguish the kingdom of the Satakani (Siri Pulumayi) from that of Vilivayakura and from that of the Andhra proper. The inscriptions do not contradict this conclusion. They mention, it is true, a Vasithiputa, "son of Vasithi", and a Gotamiputa, "son of Gotami", whom some call Vilivayakura and others Satakani, which might lead us to think that these titles belonged to the same persons. But the persons in question may have been brothers reigning over separate and distinct provinces and distinguished by titles inseparable from power over these provinces. It is also possible that some of the Andhrabhritya extended their rule over distinct kingdom which were always considered separate although united under one ruler. Further, names such as Vasithiputa and Gotamiputa do not imply that those who bear them are all sons of the Vasithi or of the same Gotami. Many women bore those names. It may be supposed that the custom among the Satakani of calling themselves "sons of such a woman" was derived from the practice of the matriarchal clans.

The Principal Kings

§ 259. The inscriptions give us the real Prakrit names of some of the kings whom the Puranas name in Sanskrit with many variations and corruptions. They are Simuka Satavahana, founder of the dynasty, his brother Kanha (Krishna), his son Satakani. Later are Siri Satakani Gotamiputa and his son Siri Pulumayi (or Pulumavi) Vasithiputa, then Siva Siri Satakani Vasithiputa and Siri Chandasata Vasithiputa, who may be brothers of Siri Pulumayi, since all three are called "sons of Vasithi". A Chatarapana Satakani is Vasithiputa, while a Siriyana Satakani is called Gotamiputa. These last two seem to be more recent.

The most important of these sovereigns are the first Gotamiputa and Siri Pulumayi. But they are the 20th and 21st in the longest Pauranic list. Between the Satakani son

of Kanha and these two is the long interval which would be occupied by 17 reigns. But Siri Pulumayi, who is mentioned by Ptolemy, is to be placed in the first half of the IInd century A.D. (see § 55), while the beginning of the dynasty cannot go back beyond the Ist century A.D. The interval is too short to accommodate so many kings, to whom are ascribed fairly long reigns. The Puranas have no doubt mistakenly combined and placed consecutively lists of kings who were actually contemporary. The greatest of the Satakani seems to have been a Gotamiputa, if we can rely upon a panegyric of him inserted in an inscription of his mother at Nasik, which enumerates his possessions and asserts that he has destroyed the foreigners, Saka, Greeks and Parthians, and also the race of the Khakharata (see § 72). On the other hand, to judge from the Prakit literature, the greatest of the Andhrabhritya would be Hala Satavahana, who is known neither by inscriptions nor by coins, and whom the Puranas place before Gotamiputa. Tradition describes him as a literary king, the glory of Prakrit poetry, and author of a famous anthology, the *Sattasai*.

Relations with Neighbouring Kingdoms

§ 260. The reigns of the Andhrabhritya were as a whole prosperious, but not free from war. The panegyric of king Kharavela of Kalinga (see § 100) tells us that that prince successfully attacked a Satakani, who must be one of the early members of the dynasty. But the principal wars must have been waged against the foreign powers of the west, the Scytho-Parthian Kshatrapas. If the tradition that the era of 58 B.C. was inaugurated to commorate the victory of a Vikramaditya over the Saka established in Ujjayini is true, the Vikramaditya in question is an Andhrabhritya. The invasion of the Saka through the Baluchistan passes took place in the first half of the Ist century B.C., at a period which the Pauranic data allows us to take as that of the fall of the Shunga and Kanva and the rise of the Andhrabhritya. All the known facts fit the supposition that the Shunga, the centre of whose power was in Malava, disappeared between the Saka pressing upon them from the one side and the Andhrabhritya on the other, and that the Saka, momentarily masters of Ujjayini, were driven out again in 58 B.C. by one of the first of the Satakarni, surnamed Vikramaditya, whether he had already assumed this name or tradition attributed it to him later. Some important wars against the Saka of which there is better evidence were to take place subsequently (see § 268).

The End of the Dynasty

§ 261. In the time of Gotamiputra the kingdom included the territory from the Godavari to Saurashtra, Aparanta (the northern Konkan), and Vidarbha, from Malava in the north to part of the Kannara country in the south, with Vejayanti as its principal town. But shortly afterwards the dynasty or dynasties of the Andhrabhritya had had to yield Malava to the Kshatrapas (see § 266). At the end of the IInd century or the beginning of the IIIrd century A.D. the dismemberment of the Andhrabhritya possessions proceeded rapidly. For some time the south-west of the empire formed round Vejayanti (Ptolemy's Banabasi, modern Banavasi) as capital a kingdom which remained in the hands of a branch of the Satakarni, the "Chutu family", the Chutukula, which itself was replaced, probably about 250, by the Kâdamba (or Kadamba). According to the Puranas the Abhira succeeded the Andhrabhritya. The *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* and Ptolemy place the Abhira in the present Rajasthan, and another group of them ruled in the Konkan after the Satakani. The centre of the Satakani, the region of Paithana, which lies between Rajasthan and the Konkan, must have been occupied meanwhile, and the indications of the Puranas are to that effect. In the Andhra country proper, a local Satakani dynasty seems to have come to an end with a Vasithiputa Sami Siri Chadasata and a last Pulumayi early in the IIIrd century. Its rule was continued by a dynasty of Ikhahu or Ikkahu, who claimed descent from the famous Ikshvaku (see § 174). It is under this dynasty, though the family was officially Brahmanic, that a Buddhist princess caused to be built or rebuilt the importance stupa of Nagarjunikonda, a short way up the river from Amaravati. At the end of the IVth century, under Samudragupta, we shall find in the Andhra country a kingdom of Vengi held by a Shalankayana dynasty, and the kingdom of the Pallava, established since the IIIrd century, continue the civilisation of the Andhra.

The Kshaharata

§ 262. The Jain tradition asserts that the Saka made an important advance in the west in 78 A.D. In fact in that region at that time we find a line of Saka Kshatrapas, the Kshaharata. The satrap Liaka Kusulaka of the Punjab (see § 244) was called Kshatrapa of the Kshahara. If it is the Kshaharata who are designated by this name, the Kshaharata of the west must have come from the north-west. It is possi ble that they were compelled to move by the Kushan invasion

from Bactriana, and that they were among the vassals of the Kushana (see § 265).

Nahapana

§ 263. The title of Kshaharata belongs to the satrap Bhumaka, (see § 267), but is associated especially with Nahapana, in Iranian, "protector of the people". This prince is known to us from a number of coins and inscriptions. His period is determined by the mention of him made at the end of the Ist century in the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* under the name of Mambanos (Boyer). He seems to have reigned for a long time. The dates of the inscriptions due to his son-in-law and to his minister refer to the Saka era of 78 A.D., which may be the year of his accession (Boyer). As the last of these inscriptions is of the 46th completed year of his reign, he must have reigned at least up to 125 A.D. His territory is clearly indicated by the *Periplus* : it was Ariake, of which the coastal region was Syrastrene, Saurashtra and the hinterland, and Aberia or the land of the Abhira. The great port of Barygaza (Bharukachchha, modern Broach) at the estuary of the Narmada, belonged to him. His capital was Minnagara, doubtless somewhere between Bharukachchha and Ujjayini. The donative inscriptions of his son-in-law at Nasik and of his minister at Junnar, dated from 42 to 46, prove that, at least towards the end of his reign, his power extended to the upper Godavari and even to the Konkan in the latitude of Bombay. He must then have possessed the port of Kalyana, at the end of the bay of Bombay. As master of Bharukachchha and Kalyana, he controlled a large part of the sea trade of India, and his wealth is celebrated in the Jain tradition.

The End of the Kshaharata

§ 264. The Jain traditions also state that Bharukachchha was taken from him by Salavahana, that is the Satavahana or Satakani. It was Gotamiputra Satakani who defeated him, for an inscription of Gotami, the mother of this prince, praises him as the founder of the glory of the family of the Satavahana, destroyer of the Saka, the Yavana and the Pahlava, and the exterminator (niravascsakara) of the line of Khakharata, in whom evidently we may recognise the Kshaharata. Gotamiputa himself, in an inscription at Nasik of the 18th (completed) year, that is in the 19th year of his reign, orders from his victorious camp at Vejayanti a change of the disposition of a territory of which Usabhadata had previously disposed. This Usabhadata is most probably Ushavadata, the son-in-law of Nahapana. The event took place at latest in the 46th (com-

pleted) year of Nahapana (125 A.D.), the last known date of the inscriptions of his reign. In fact when Ptolemy described India about 150, from recent information, it was no longer Gotamiputa who reigned, but his son Siri Pulumayi.

§ 265. An earlier source than the *Periplus of the Erythraean* Sea complicates the historical problem of the wars between the Satakani and the Kshaharata. The *Periplus* tells us that Kalliena (Kalyana) was an open port in the time of Saraganes the Old, but that it had been closed since Sandanes seized it. Sandanes must represent the Sanskrit Chandana, which is a title of the Yue-che, that is the Kushana. Now several Chinese sources say that the Yue-che controlled south India for a short time. It is probable, then, that Sandanes was a Kushan who advanced southward at least as far as the country of the Saraganes, that is one of the Satakani, and this in the latter part of the Ist century (S. Levi). Thus he was probably Kujulakaphsa (see § 246). But it must be noticed that he would then have been a contemporary of Nahapana, and must have operated in the region which, we have seen, Nahapana controlled. The hypothesis therefore suggests itself that the Saka Nahapana, who was a kshatrapa and in consequence is always regarded as the vassal of some unknown king of kings, was in fact the vassal of Kujulakaphsa. This would resolve the question of the origin of the Saka era : as the Jain tradition says (see § 238), it was the occasion of a Saka invasion of western India, and it was at the same time the era of the Saka and of Nahapana. In any case, since the centre of the Kushan empire was in the extreme north-west of India, it would be natural for Nahapana to give the appearance of an independent monarch ; but if he was in fact a vassal of the Kushan, his subordinate status would explain why he did not take the royal title and was content with that of satrap.

The Kshatrapas of Ujjayini

§ 266. Though Gotamiputa Satakani was able finally to overthrow the Kshaharata, he did not succeed in exterminating the Saka. The documents no sooner cease to talk of Nahapana than they begin to refer to a powerful line of Saka Kshatraps at Ujjayini, and these kshatraps, often called "western", were formidable rivals of the Satakani. They called themselves "kings" at the same time as "satraps", but the fact that they maintained the title of satrap leads us to suppose that they remained more or less in the position of vassals of the Maharaja Rajatiraja, the Kushan "emperors".

Chashtana

§ 267. The first of the kshatrapas of Ujjayini whom we know is Chashtana. His period is fixed both by Ptolemy, who calls him Tiastanes and mentions that his royal town is Ozene, and by an inscription of 52 (130 A.D.) in which he himself and his grandson are conjointly designated as sovereigns (see § 105).

His father was called Ysamotika, a name of which the first part contains an Iranian word meaning "earth". It is probable that the name of a satrap Bhumaka, "the Kshaharata", of whom we possess several coins, is a Sanskrit translation of Ysamotika, since Bhumaka is derived from bhumi, "earth" (S. Levi). If this is so, the family of Chashtana sprang from the Kshaharata, and may represent a branch of it which survived that of Nahapana. This branch may moreover be older than that of Nahapana, since according to Rapson, Bhumaka's coins are earlier than those of Nahapana. Jouveau-Dubreuil thinks that it was Chashtana who founded the Saka era, which however would throw the chronology into confusion. Chashtana had a son Jayadaman, and a grandson Rudradaman.

Rudradaman

268. Rudradaman is the best known and undoubtedly the most important of the "great satrap kings". We have a long Sanskrit panegyric of him (see § 105) of 150 A.D., which gives the extent of his domain. In addition to Malava he possessed many kingdoms or provinces, in particular Sind, Surashtra, Kachchha and Aparanta (the northern Konkan). He twice defeated "Satakarni", whom he spared both times because of his relationship with him. It is generally supposed that the Satakani referred to is Pulumayi Vasisthiputa, since an inscription at Kanheri mentions the wife of Vasithiputa Satakani as the daughter of a great satrap, whose mutilated name begins in Ru. We recognise Rudradaman as the satrap and Pulumayi as the Satakani, son of Vasisthi. Ptolemy has Chashtana and Pulumayi reigning simultaneously; thus the latter must have married the great-granddaughter of his contemporary. This is possible. Chashtana must have lived and reigned a long time, since at one place he is designated as king conjointly with his grandson in 130.

Successors of Rudradaman

§ 269. The line of the successors of Rudradaman is well known from their coins, which give the name of each king with that of his father and often a date. But the facts of their

reigns remain unknown. Some bore the title Kshatrapa, some Mahakshatrapa, and some both in succession. These titles correspond to different extensions of their power (Rapson). Wars or partitions of their domains often resulted in several brothers reigning in turn or together. Thus Damaysada (or Damajada or Damajadashri) and Rudrasimha, both sons of Rudradaman, gave birth, the second to three ruling branches, those of Sanghadaman, Rudrasena and Damasena, and the former to two, those of Jivadaman and Satyadaman. The last mahakshatrapa was undoubtedly Rudrasimha III, son of Satya-simha. With him the dynasty was overthrown by the Guptas, about 400, since one of his coins bears the date 310 (perhaps with a unit figure), that is 388 A.D.

The Invasions and Cultural Exchanges

§ 270. The domination of the Persians, the Greeks, the Saka, the Pahlava and the Kushana in north-western and west-ern India was the cause of enrichment and expansion of this country. She was enriched by the borrowings from the west, especially in artistic and scientific matters. She expanded by exercising upon her conquerors a profound influence which they propagated in their countries of origin. In religion and philosophy the contact was fruitful for the west, and through the conversion of the Indo-Scythians Buddhism expanded in central Asia and the Far East.

The Invasions and Sanskrit Culture

§ 271. In the interior of the country the invaders were rapidly Indianised, but their incorporation into Indian society was not without consequences for that society. A tendency towards the popularisation of Sanskrit, for example, seems to have been due in part to these Indianised foreigners. Sanskrit had earlier been reserved for religious and especially Brahmanic uses. Under the Shunga it was used only in exceptional cases for an inscription emanating from a Brahmanical prince (see § 101). All ancient epigraphy bears witness that the Prakrits were the official languages. However, the north-west was one of the regions where Sanskrit was most cultivated (Panini came from the north Punjab), and this led to its adoption as the language of literature and science. It was also the region of the invasions, and in consequence of heterodox ideas, and was therefore the region where there would be the last scruple about profaning the language. A number of the inscriptions of the Saka and the Kushana, especially at Mathura, a great centre of Sanskrit culture, are in Prakrit full of Sanskrit forms

(see § 102). The Buddhist writings of the north-western schools are in Sanskrit, while those of other schools are in Middle Indian. Kanishka is believed to have patronised Ashvaghosha and Charaka. The satraps of Ujjayini seem to have made a special contribution to the liberation of Sanskrit from strictly Brahmnical uses (S. Levi). In this they differed from the Satakani, who employed Prakrit in their inscriptions and secular literature. But the contrast should not be exaggerated. It was under Rudradaman that classical Sanskrit, literary and polished, was first employed in an inscription in praise of a king (see § 105), and Sanskrit often replaced Prakrit in the legends on coins, though the kshatrapas did not entirely abandon Prakrit. The *Suhrillekha,* "Letter to a Frined", attributed to Nagarjuna and addressed to a Shatavahana king, was written in Sanskrit. To explain the change in the position of Sanskrit from the Brahmanic language to the literary and scientific language, we must take account of the Indian reaction to the foreign invasions. This reaction could not find a means of expression more venerable and more universally understood in the Indian world than the ancient sacred language, simplified in its forms and rejuvenated in its use. It is probable that the foreign rulers did not so much originate the vogue of literary Sanskrit as give it official approval. The reality and power of the Indian reaction to the foreign invasions cannot be questioned : the culture of north-west and western India remained specifically Indian through nine centuries of constantly renewed invasion and almost continuous subjugation, from the satraps of the Persians to those of the Scythians.

(h) The Kingdoms of the Far South and Ceylon

The Tamil Kingdoms

§ 272. Three kingdoms divided the Tamil country among themselves : that of the Pandi or Pandiyar (Skt. Pandya ; Ptolemy, Pandion) which corresponds to the eastern part of the extreme south of the peninsula ; that of the Cherar (Skt. Kerala and Chera ; Ptolemy, Kerobothros = Keralaputra) in the present Travancore ; and that of the Cholar (Skt. Chola ; Ptolemy, Sorai) to the north of the Pandya country, from the region of Tanjavur (Tanjore) to the Krishna, which marked the Andhra boundary. The name of the "Coromandel coast" is that of the "district of the Cholar", Cholamandalam. The Pandya capital in later times was Madurei (Ptolemy, Modoura); that of the Chera was Karur (Ptolemy, Karoura) ; and that of the Chola was anciently Ureiyur (Ptolemy, Orthoura).

These three kingdoms, which maintained themselves through fluctuations of fortune till modern times, are of ancient origin. They are mentioned in the inscriptions of Asoka (see § 213). The kingdom of the Pandya was known even to Megasthenes, who relates the legend of the establishment by the Indian Herakles of his daughter Pandaia (see § 41) as the queen of the land of the south, especially of the land where they fished for pearls. Megasthenes tells this story in relation to Mathura, the capital of the Shurasena where Krishna was worshipped, so he must have regarded that hero as Herakles; but the capital of the Pandya country is also a Mathura, for Madurei is the Tamil form of the name. The legend, moreover, is related in the Tamil sources about Shiva, not Krishna (see § 41). These facts show that at the beginning of the IIIrd century B.C. relations had already been established between the traditions of central India and those of the Tamil country. The very name of the Pandya may be related to that of the Pandava of the *Mahabharata*.

§ 273. The relatoins of these kingdoms by sea with the west were very important. The *Periplus* and Ptolemy give us specific information on them. They centred especially on the ports of Muziris (Muyiri, modern Cranganore) and Kolkhoi (Korkei), now in the interior because the sea has retreated. Ptolemy knew a very large number of names of places in the interior of the peninsula. He speaks of a "market" of Podouke, at a place which may correspond to the present Pondicherry, near which a site has recently been found containing many relics of the Roman period (including an intaglio of Augustus), proving the presence of a sort of factory (Jouveau-Dubreuil). Strabo mentions that Augustus received an ambassador from a king Pandianos. The Table of Peutinger shows a temple of Augustus at Muziris.

The history of the Tamil kingdoms round about the Christian era is made up of incessant wars among themselves and with the kings of Ceylon. What we know is drawn almost entirely from the "Sangam poems". Here we need only note that the Pallava dynasty, later to become very powerful and of great historical importance, was founded in the IIIrd century at Kanjipuram in the north of the Chola country (see § 306).

Ceylon

§ 274. Like the Tamil kingdoms, the island of Ceylon (Skt. and Pali Lanka) is mentioned in the Asoka inscriptions (Tambapamni, Skt. Tamraparni, whence Taprobane). It is

the Indian country of which we have the most continuous history. On its origins, however, the chronicles tell us nothing but lengends, in particular that of a king Vijaya who founded the first dynasty in the Island, which had hitherto been in possession of the Yakkha, "demons" (Skt. Yaksha). The daughter of a king of Bengal by a Kalinga princes left her father's kingdom to follow a caravan to Magadha and then to the country of Lala (Skt. Lata, the Larike of Ptolemy, Gujerat). There she was seized by a lion and had a son Sihabahu and a daughter Sihasivali, whose incestuous union led to the birth of Vijaya. He landed in Ceylon at the moment of the death of the Buddha. In memory of the ancestry of its first king, the island received the name of Sihaladipa, "island of the Lion" (Skt. Simhaladvipa, in Arabic Serendib ; Simhala has become Ceylon). The legend may contain some trace of history. The Indianisation of the island may have taken its start from eastern India in the Vth century B. C.

Vijaya married the daughter of a Pandu who reigned on the continent, that is a Tamil princess from the family of the Pandiyar. In fact Ceylon has been peopled by three elements, the first aboriginal, the second Indo-Aryan, and the third Tamil.

Introduction of Buddhism

§ 275. In the year of the accession of Devanampiya Tissa, the 6th king of Ceylon, the son (or younger brother) and the daughter of Asoka, Mahinda and Sanghamitta, bringing with them a cutting from the tree under which the Buddha had attained Enlightenment, came to Ceylon and introduced Buddhism there. They planted the cutting from the tree at the Singhalese capital, Anuradhapura, and founded the Mahavihara, the "great monastery". Geiger's calculations place the dates of Devanampiya Tissa at 247-207 B.C., taking 483 B.C. as the date of the Nirvana. Replacing this by the date 478 which we have adopted, we get 242-202 B.C. for Tissa. The event did not follow immediately upon the start of Asoka's missionary activity, which we have placed in 249 B.C., for it is said that Mahinda was ordained in the 7th year after Asoka's coronation and was in the 13th year of his preaching (which gives 242 B.C.) when he set out for Ceylon. The edicts in which Asoka mentions Ceylon (2nd and 13th rock edicts) were inscribed in the 13th year of the coronation (247 B.C.) and the years immediately after that (see § 91) ; thus the edicts could not have mentioned Mahinda's mission, and the absence

of such mention cannot be cited as evidence against the historical fact of the mission.

The Principal Successors of Devanampiya Tissa

§ 276. The fourteenth king of Ceylon, Dutthagamani, succeeded a Tamil conqueror of the Chola dynasty named Elara, who had ruled justly for 44 years. He ascended the throne 136 (or according to some manuscripts of the *Mahavamsa,* 146) years after the accession of Devanampiya Tissa, that is in 106 or 96 B.C. During his reign some important Buddhist monuments were built, in particular the Lohapasada, intended for assemblies of the Community. He must have died in 82 or 72 B.C.

After a disturbed interval, Abhaya Vattagamani (49 or 39 B.C.) seized power after killing a usurper, but soon lost it again through a rebellion which was stirred up in the southern province of Rohana by a Brahman named Tissa, at the time of an invasion by the Tamils. After a successful expedition two Tamil kings returned to their kingdoms, but five succeeded one another in Ceylon, each obtaining power by killing his predecessor. Vattagamani was able to regain his throne 15 years later (34 or 24 B.C. ?) and thereafter reigned gloriously till 22 or 12 B.C. (?). The monastery of Abhayagiri was built by him about 218 years after the Mahavihara, that is in 24 B.C. A serious religious dispute soon arose between the monks of the two monasteries, and after a council summoned to settle the dispute the Buddhist Scriptures were edited.

Vattagamani was succeeded by his two sons, Mahachuli Mahatissa and Choranaga, the latter of evil memory as a great destroyer of monasteries (8 B.C.-4 A.D. or 2-14 A.D.). A later king, the 36th, Amandagamani (88-98 or 98-108 A.D.), on the other hand was a pious Buddhist who forbad the killing of living creatures and ordered useful plants to be cultivated, thus repeating measures taken by Asoka. He was murdered by his brother Kanirajanutissa, who succeeded him.

§ 277. The 44th king, Vasabha, who had been ordained as a monk, led a rebellion and seized the throne. He is one of the kings whose memory the Buddhist Church reveres (132-176 or 142-186 A.D. ?). The 46th, Gajabahukagamani (179-201 or 189-211 A.D. ?) is important for history because he was a contemporary of the Pandya king Nedunjeliyan and of the Chola king Nedumudukilli. The dynastic lists of the *Dipavamsa* and the *Mahavamsa* stop at Mahasena (347-374 or 357-

384 according to the data of the *Dipavamsa;* 333-360 or 343-370 according to those of the *Mahavamsa*). This king, who at first persecuted Buddhism, later made pious reparation for his errors. His successor, known from the *Chulavamsa* (see § 16), was Siri Meghavanna, a contemporary of the emperor Samudragupta (see § 280). Later, according to the Chinese sources, a king Mo-ho-nan, the Mahanama of the *Chulavamsa,* sent an ambassador to China in 428, and Kia-che, the Kassapa of the *Chulavamsa,* sent another in 527. But these dates do not agree well with those which we calculate from the facts given in the chronicles for the Sinhalese kings in question. Since the Chinese dates seem to be accurate, it must be assumed that the periods of the reigns, which are in fact given in the Singhalese chronicles with some discrepancies, are subject to error.

(i) The Guptas

Origin of the Dynasty

§ 278. The Achemenian domination, the invasion of Alexander and the threat from the Seleucids called forth the powerful Indian reaction which was headed by Chandragupta. This resistance derived its main strength from Magadha in the eastern Madhyadesha, situated beyond the reach of the Iranians and the Greeks. The second invasion of the west of India by the occidentals was followed by a similar reaction and the establishment of an empire similar to that of the Mauryans. There must indeed have been a perfectly conscious intention of restoring the Maurya empire; and it is no doubt not an accident that the prince who appears as the real founder of the new empire is also a Chandragupta.

The dynasty originated in Magadha, the centre of the Maurya power. The *Vishnu* and *Vayu Puranas* prophesy that the Guptas will reign at Magadha and as far as the confluence of the Ganges and the Jamuna (Prayaga). The genealogies given in the inscriptions inform us that Chandragupta was preceded by his grandfather Gupta or Shri Gupta, and his father Ghatotkacha, both Maharajas but otherwise unknown to us, unless it be that the former is the king Che-li Ki-to whom the Chinese pilgrim Yi-tsing, at the end of the VIIth century, mentions as having made a donation of land in the east of Magadha to some Chinese monks for building a temple more than 500 years before. But as Chandragupta I is to be placed at the beginning of the IVth century, his grandfather cannot

have reigned in the IInd : Yi-tsing's estimate of the period which had elapsed is therefore exaggerated.

Chandragupta I

§ 279. The accession of Chandragupta I is to be dated in 320 A.D. (Fleet), and since the dates of his successors are reckoned from this point of departure, this year makes the beginning of the era called the Gupta Era.

We know little about him, but it is certain that he married Kumaradevi, a princes of Lichchhavi clan, the clan who ruled Vaishali in the times of the Buddha and the Jina (see § 179), and whose descendants, perhaps expelled from the Ganges valley, reigned in Nepal from a period before Gupta times. That he was a more powerful ruler than his father or grandfather is clearly shown in the inscriptions, which give him the imperial title Maharajadhiraja.

It is certain that he died in 335 A.D.

Samudragupta

§ 280. His son Samudragupta (335-c. 375) is much better known, thanks to the panegyric on him inscribed on an Asoka pillar (see § 92). It is possible that a brother, Kacha (?), reigned for a brief interval between Chandragupta and Samudragupta, but the name Kacha which is found on some coins may refer to him. He was a poet and musician as well as a conqueror.

This panegyric speaks of him as of a "god who lived on earth" (*lokadhamno devasya*). It gives his conquests in great detail, and marks the extent of his suzerainty and of his prestige. The kings of Aryavarta were "uprooted by force" (*prasabhoddharana*) and their territories were incorporated directly in the Gupta empire. The kings mentioned have not all been identified. Some, however, can be recognised, in particular, Achyuta, known from some coins of Ahichchhatra, and Ganapatinaga of Padmavati (Narvar).

Others were captured by the emperor but released. He allowed them to rule their countries as vassals, which he no doubt considered more advantageous than administering them himself. Such are the kings of Kosala (Mahakoshala, between the upper Narmada and the upper Mahanadi), of Orissa and of Kalinga, and even of countries farther to the south such as Hastivarman of Vengi, a king of a Shalankayana dynasty in the Andhra country, and Vishnugopa, one of the Pallavas of Kanchi.

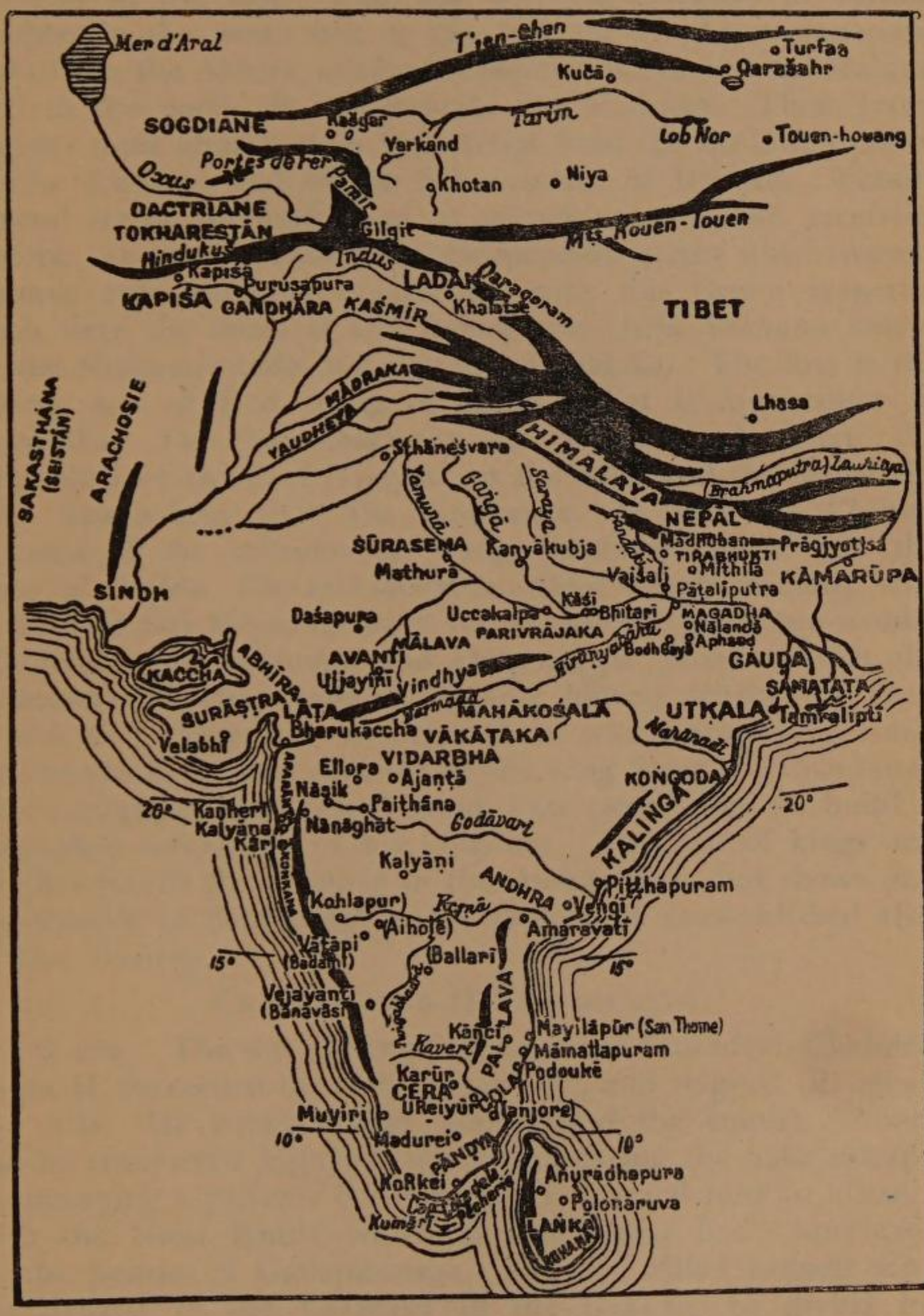
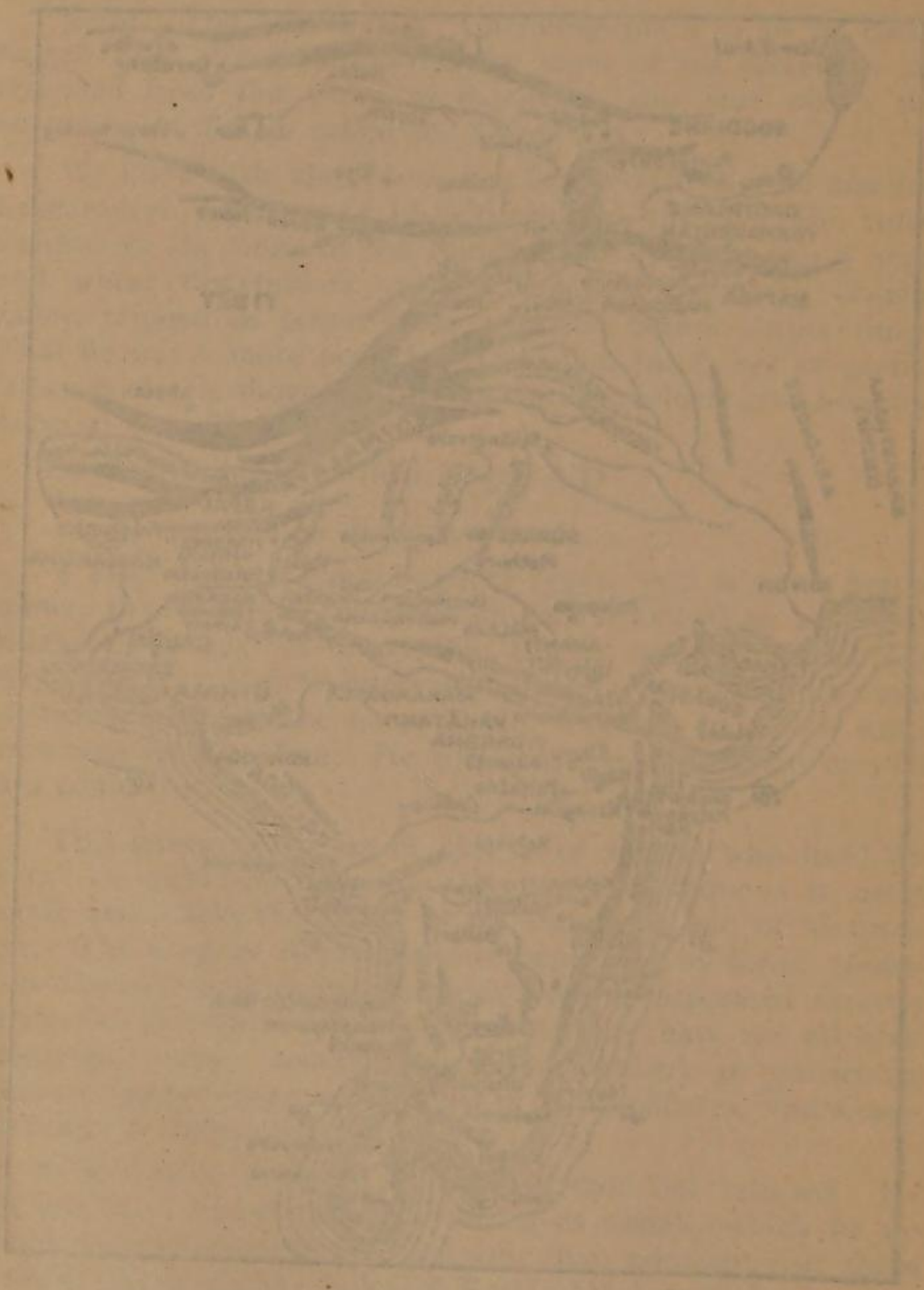


Fig. 11—Empires of the Andhrabhrtyas and the Guptas



§ 281. Some other kings, those of frontier lands (*pratyantanrpati*), were not conquered but acknowledged themselves tributaries. Such were Nepal in the north and Kamarupa (Assam) in the east. This was also the situation of various peoples in the west, such as the Malava, the Arjunayana, the Yaudheya, the Abhira, as also the Sanakanika of western Malava, and to the north, in the Punjab, the Madraka. These latter regions must already have been freed from the declining power of the Kushana and of the Saka satraps of Ujjayini. Finally several states are mentioned as giving presents and receiving orders. In reality these were independent states which merely entered into diplomatic relations with the Gupta emperor. Such were the states of the *Daivaputra Shahi Shahanu Shahi*, of the Shakamurunda and of the Saimhalaka. The first is the "King, son of God, King of Kings", that is a successor of Kanishka. The Saka-murunda or Sakamurunda were the Saka chief or chiefs of Ujjayini, or the Saka and the Murunda. The Saimhalaka were the Singhalese. In fact the Chinese account of the missions of Wang Hiuan-ts'o states that the king of Ceylon, Che-mi-kiao-po-mo (Shri Meghavarman), who is the king Siri Meghavanna of the *Mahavamsa*, sent two monks, Mo-ho-nan (Mahanaman) and Ou-po, Upa (sena), to visit the monastery of the Mahabodhi, and having learnt on their return that there was no place there where Singhalese could live in peace, he sent presents to the king San-meou-to-lo-kiu-to (Samudragupta) and asked from him permission to build a Singhalese monastery in his kingdom. This list of kings and peoples recalls those found in the Asoka edicts and shows that the empire of Samudragupta in large part re-established that of the Maurya.

Chandragupta II Vikramaditya

§ 282. The son of Samudragupta and Dattadevi, Chandragupta II, succeeded his father about 375 and reigned till about 414 A.D. He enlarged and consolidated the empire. About 390 he conquered Ujjayini, finally destroying the Saka satraps. By marrying a princess Kuveranaga, he entered into an alliance with the Naga family which Samudragupta had "uprooted" in the person of Ganapatinaga. He also allied himself with the dynasty of the Vakataka in the Dekkan, by giving his daughter Prabhavati to king Rudrasena. If the inscription on the iron pillar at Mihrauli is in his honour, he extended his conquests as far as the Bahlika (Bactrians) in the west and to Bengal in the east. It is probable in any case that the Gupta power reached its greatest height in his reign. In his time, too,

Sanskrit literature knew one of its most brilliant periods. Kalidasa must have been patronised by him. As he conquered Ujjayini he is often confused with the Vikramaditya of legend, the protector of poets. In any case Vikramaditya was his principal surname (*biruda*), as it was that of many other Indian princes. During his reign his tolerance permitted all the greatest religions to flourish. Buddhism was to be found everywhere, according to the testimony of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hien, who visited India at this time.

Kumaragupta

§ 283. His son, Kumaragupta I, whose principal *biruda* was Mohendraditya (c. 414-c. 455) also had a brilliant reign. It is he who is believed to have founded at Nalanda a Buddhist monastery which later became famous. Hiuan-tsang and Yi-tsing attribute this foundation to a king Che-li Che-kie-louo-tie-tie, that is Shri Chakraditya ; and Chakra is a synonym of Mahendra. He had to meet the first attacks of the Huns entering India from central Asia, as the Saka and the Kushana did before them. His son Skandagupta Kramaditya repulsed them.

The Successors of Kumaragupta I

§ 284. After Kumaragupta I the evidence becomes confused, and it has been inferred that from the end of the reign of Skandagupta the incursion of the Huns weakened the dynasty, which then ceased to exercise imperial power. But the confusion may arise merely because it has happened that we have not found clear evidence. Merely from the fact that the Huns attacked the north-west of the empire, and moreover at first without success, it does not follow that the empire as a whole must have fallen at that time. Some historians believe that after Kumaragupta I the power was divided between two branches of the dynasty, that of Skandagupta and that of Puragupta (Basak). The former, continued by a Kumaragupta (II) and then Buddhagupta and Bhanugupta, must have ruled the west, while the second with Narasimhagupta and then a Kumaragupta (III) ruled the east.

A seal found at Bhitari states that Puragupta was the son of Kumaragupta (I), and the father of Narasimhagupta and grandfather of a Kumaragupta. Two inscriptions on pillars, one also at Bhitari and the other in Bihar, give Skandagupta as the son of Kumaragupta (I). Thus Puragupta and Skandagupta were brothers, and both reigned. But it does not follow

that they ruled different regions at the same time. They may have reigned successively, as also their sons.

According to Hiuan-tsang, Buddhagupta was the son of Chakraditya, that is of Kumaragupta I. Some historians have rejected the pilgrim's information as false, but it is possible that Buddhagupta was a third son of Kumaraguupta I (Raychaudhuri) and reigned after his brothers, Skandagupta and Puragupta. The inscriptions and coins inform us of a Buddhagupta, who must be identical with the Buddhagupta of Hiuan-tsang. The Chinese must have replaced Budha, the name of the planet Mercury, by *Buddha*. Fleet considers them to be two different kings. However, the confusion of Budha with Buddha is quite a natural mistake for a man so preoccupied with the founder of his religion. It is therefore probable that the king Buddhagupta of Magadha is the same as the king Budhagupta during whose reign, in 165 (=484 A.D.), an inscription was set up at Eran in eastern Malava. Since he controlled both Magadha and eastern Malava, this king was still in possession at least of the major part of the empire. Moreover, if the inscription does not expressly designate him as emperor (it calls him *bhupati*, "master of the earth", a popular equivalent of "king"), it implies that he had that status. The inscription in fact is due to a Maharaja Matrivishnu, and this Maharaja recognised him as suzerain, since he mentions that the inscription was made in his reign.

285. After Buddhagupta, Hiuan-tsang gives a Tathagatagupta, who is otherwise unknown, and a Baladitya who defeated the Hun Mihirakula. Baladitya is the *biruda* of Narasimhagupta, the son of Puragupta. It has been supposed that he succeeded his father, and since this would place him before Budhagupta, Hiuan-tsang must have been in error in placing him after. But the three brothers Purugupta, Skandagupta and Budhagupta may have reigned in succession before the throne passed to the next generation. In other words, if the reign of the uncle preceded that of the nephew, the information of Hiuan-tsang is not mistaken. After Budhagupta and Narasimhagupta the most important sovereign appears to have been Bhanugupta. An inscription at Eran of 510 A.D. is devoted to the glory of the hero Goparaja, who was killed in a battle which he fought together with Bhanugupta, doubtless against the Huns. At this period, however, the empire seems to have been divided into several kingdoms : a Gupta was crowned in Magadha, and another in Gauda (Bengal). The former must be Krishnagupta, the founder of the royal but

no longer imperial dynasty of the Guptas of Magadha, which reigned till near the close of the VIIth century, and of which we know 11 kings, the last being Jivitagupta II. In Bengal it is probably a Vainyagupta who maintained the power of the dynasty locally. There is a donative charter of his dated dating from 507 A.D.

The Local Kingdoms of the Gupta Period

§ 286. The greater number of the local kingdoms of the period of which we know were tributaries of the empire. A number of them are known to have existed before and after the Guptas.

In western Malava, especially at Dashapura (Dasor, Mandasor) north of Ujjayini, we know of several princes who were vassals of the Guptas, Naravarman under Chandragupta II, Vishvavarman and his son Bandhuvarman under Kumaragupta I, and finally a more important ruler, Yashodharman. This last, one of whose inscriptions is of date 553, is described in another inscription as a ruler greater than the Gupta emperors. His kingdom extended from the river Lauhitya (Brahmaputra) to the western ocean, and from the Himalaya far into the south. He must have ruled some countries which the Guptas themselves had not controlled, and he must have received the homage of Mihirakula. Another sovereign Vishnuvardhana is mentioned in a way which makes clear that he was Yashodharman's vassal. It is usually admitted that in this panegyric of Yashodharman there is much conventional eulogy and exaggeration. But it is possible that in his time, which is that of the decline of the Gupta empire, he was able for a brief period to re-establish it and even to enlarge it.

In southern Vidarbha (Berar) a Vakataka dynasty, of which we know 13 kings, which began at an unknown date and disappeared at the end of the Vth century, had the honour of an alliance with the Guptas by the marriage of the 6th king, Rudrasena, with the daughter of Chandragupta II. This dynasty disappeared at the time, and no doubt in consequence, of the rise of the dynasty of the Chalukyas of Vatapi.

In Bundelkhand between 475 and 534 there reigned under the suzerainty of the Guptas some Parivrajaka kings at Dabhala and some Uchchhakalpa kings.

§ 287. In the neighbourhood of Gaya, and also north-west of Banaras, were two Maukhari dynasties which were of ancient origins and of the highest rank of the Indian nobility.

The traditional ancestor of the family is Vivasvat. In any case a seal bearing Asokan characters mentions it in the Prakrit form (genitive plural) *Mokhalinam*. The more important Maukharis of the Gupta era were those of north-west of Banaras, of whom some at least ruled over the ancient Brahmarshidesha at Kanyakubja (Kanauj). We know of at least 8 of them, the first being Harivarman. The earlier Maukharis married Gupta princesses, the imperial court allowing them to do so, no doubt, in order to conciliate them. The eighth, Grahavarman, married the sister of Harshavardhana (see § 298). All the names end in -varman, "breast-plate" and mean "He who has.....as "breast-plate", *i.e.* "Protected by.....", so that this termination has the same meaning as -gupta, "Hidden by.....".

In Kathiyavar the kingdom of Valabhi was formed about 490 A.D., when the Hun invasion had weakened or eliminated the Gupta power in the west.

(j) The Invasions of the Hephthalite Huns

Their Immense Empire

§ 288. At the end of the IV century, at the moment when the great invasion of Europe by the Huns was beginning, a small people called *Houa* made submission to the Jeou-Jan or Jouan-Jouan (Avares), who occupied an immense territory in the north-west of China. About the middle of the Vth century the Houa appeared on the eastern frontiers of the Sassanian empire of Persia. They were then called the Hephthalite Huns, from the name of their king, Hephthalanos, according to Theophanes of Byzantium, or rather from the name of their royal family, transcribed Ye-ta by the *Annals of the T'ang*. According to the Arabian and Persian historians, their king, Akshunvar or Akshunvaz, who no doubt bore the family name of Haphthal or Hethailit, in 484 challenged and slew the Sassanian king Peroz (459-484). Thenceforward they were firmly established in the Iranian lands of the north and east, in particular in Sogdiana and Bactriana, and also invaded Kapisha and Gandhara. By 500 A.D. their empire extended to the west almost to the Caspian Sea, and the *Annals of the Leang* which relate the facts of the period 502-556 say that they extended their authority to the east over the Tarim Basin as far as K'iu-tseu (Kusha) and Yen-k'i (Qarashahr), over Kashgar and Khotan. We shall see how far they advanced into India (§ 292).

This immense empire lasted only for a short time. In the

middle of the VIth century the T'ou-kiue (western Turks) attained supremacy in central Asia after having defeated the Jeou-Jan. The Sassanian Khosru Anushirvan allied with them in order to crush the Huns, whom they defeated shortly before 568. They divided that part of the Hun empire which lay between them, while the other parts became more or less independent, and the Hephthalites remained mingled with the inhabitants of Bactriana. The Sassanians took Bactriana and the Turks Sogdiana, but soon (before 597), the Turks took Bactriana from the Persians, while a Turkish dynasty called the Shahi established itself over Kapisha and Gandhara.

Racial Indentity of the Hephthalite Huns

§ 289. Although they are considered Huns by the Byzantine and Persian historians and by the Indian writers quite independently, the Hephthalites are to be distinguished from the Huns whom Europe knew under Attila. According to some sources they were sedentary or were becoming so, though a Syrian source says that they lived in tents, and the Chinese ambassador Song Yun describes them as nomads. Above all they were white-skinned, and they were often called "White Huns", a name found in Sanskrit in the form *Shveta-huna* or *Sitahuna,* as opposed to the *Harahuna,* a Sanskrit name which must be the transcription of a Mongol form, Qara Qun, "Black Huns" (Pelliot). It has therefore been suggested that they were not racially Huns but were related to the people of the Tarim Basin who spoke Indo-European languages, who are in turn supposed to be related to the Yue-che (Van Windekens). In fact the *Annals of the T'ang* say that the Hephthalites were of the race of the Ta Yue-che of the Han period. We have, however, no definite evidence as to their original language, which is rather supposed to have been Mongol (Pelliot); and the language of the Ta Yue-che of the Han era was undoubtedly an eastern form of Iranian, if the Ta Yue-che were the Kushana (Sten Konow). In any case the language which they used on their coins and inscriptions is Iranian in Greek script (see § 145).

According to Song Yun they did not believe in Buddhism, and this defferentiated them from the peoples of the Tarim Basin who had been converted to Buddhism long before Song Yun's time. The question is also cimplicated by the fact that another people, the Wu-suen, evolved at some period in the same region, and we do not know what relation they may have had to the Hephthalites; according to a Chinese source they were blond and had blue eyes.

The Huns in India

§ 290. In the middle of the Vth century, under Kumaragupta I, the Huns appear in the history of India, but they were more especially established on the borders of India, where they destroyed the Kidarites (see § 254). The Chinese Song Yun, who was sent to India to seek out Buddhist books, spent 518-522 A.D. in Gandhara under Hun domination. The king of the Huns had his capital near Bamiyan in a valley of the Hindukush, and one of his officers (Tegin, a Mongol-Turk title) was stationed in Gandhara, which the Huns had occupied two generations earlier (*i.e.* about 450). At the time when Song Yun saw the Tegin of Gandhara, in 520, this prince was trying vainly to subdue Ki-pin, that is no doubt Kashmir. Unfortunately Song Yun does not give the name of this Tegin. But the *Rajatarangini* makes Mihirakula one of the kings of Kashmir. Some have therefore inferred that Mihirakula was the Tegin in question, and that he succeeded in conquering Kashmir after Song Yun had left Gandhara. In any case the occupation of that country by the Huns must be placed later than 520.

They had entered India long before, since during the reign of Kumaragupta I, before 455, Skandagupta had repulsed them.

Toramana

§ 291. We do not know exactly when the Huns succeeded in establishing themselves in India, but at some date after 484 they had occupied eastern Malava. For a Vaishnava inscription of Eran, dated in the first year of the reign of the "emperor" (Maharajadhiraja) Toramana, emanates from Dhyanavishnu, brother of the deceased Maharaja Matrivishnu ; and this latter had been a vassal of Budhagupta in 484 (see § 284). This not only gives approximately the period of the success of the Hun invasions, but shows that the Huns were content to replace the Gupta suzerainty by their own in eastern Malava without disturbing the local authority. Further, it is clear that if they had advanced so far they must have occupied the Punjab, the Indus valley, Rajaputana (Rajasthan) and western Malava. The coins of Toramana imitate those of Budhagupta ; other coins apparently earlier name the Shahis Khingila and Jabuvla. A Toramana appears in the history of Kashmir, but the *Rajatarangini* places him at a considerably later date.

Mihiracula

§ 292. As we learn from a Gwalior inscription (see § 107),

the son of Toramana was Mihirakula. The name Mihira is equivalent to the Iranian Mithra (Skt. Mitra). *Kula* or *gula* does not appear to be the Sanskrit *kula,* family, and is to be recognised in the name Gollas given to the Hun king by Kosmas Indikopleustes, according to whom he possessed 2,000 war elephants. However, it is possible that Mihirakula is to be interpreted as meaning "of the family of Mitra", and a Hun dynasty which must be that of Mihirakula is identified by Fleet with the "Maitraka", to whom belonged the founder, about 500, of the dynasty of Valabhi (see § 295). According to Huian-tsang, Mihirakula fiercely persecuted the Buddhists. Baladitya (see § 285), a pious Buddhist, wished to refuse to pay tribute to him, but could not resist him and fled to an island. Thence he sallied forth once more, and this time succeeded in making the Hun prisoner, but released him on the entreaty of his mother. Mihirakula took refuge in Kashmir, and there overthrew the king, destroyed the Buddhist monasteries, attacked Gandhara, and massacred hundreds of thousands of people. The *Rajatarangini* for its part says that the North, jealous of the South, of which Yama, the god of the dead, is the ruler, gave birth to Mihirakula. However, the Hun was not guilty of indiscriminate persecution. He was converted to the Shaiva faith, and favoured and made donations to the Brahmans, and even acquired the reputation of having restored pious practices which had been abandoned through the influence of the barbarians.

Despite the agreement of the evidence from different sources, there remains much that is obscure about the reign of Mihirakula. Thus, according to Song Yun, in 520 the Huns possessed Gandhara and not Kashmir. Mihirakula must, then, have conquered this latter country later, but according to Hiuan-tsang, he conquered Gandhara after Kashmir. Must we conclude that it was another Hun leader who took Gandhara ? Many legends grew up around his name, in particular that he led an expedition as far as Ceylon.

The End of the Hun Invasions

§ 293. In 533 (see § 106) Yashodharman claimed to have received the homage of Mihirakula. Thus he was defeated by both Baladitya and Yashodharman. This fact has been interpreted in various ways. The evidence of Kosmas, who emphasises his power, would be very valuable if it were dated exactly. It is evident in any case that the power of the Huns in India met a very vigorous resistance, and was not of long

duration. Even if it is admitted with Heras that after Yashodharman's victory Mihirakula was able to make another advance and pressed as far as Magadha, where he was defeated by Baladitya, the domination of part of India by the Huns cannot have lasted later than about the middle of the VIth century. The war of India against the Huns was not a hundred years war. Further, shortly after the Indians repulsed Mihirakula, the Sassanians and the Turks finally crushed the Hephthalites in the heart of their empire, the base from which they had launched their conquering expeditions into India. In consequence there came into power, at Kapisha and Kabul, a Turkish dynasty, the Shahi of Kabul, which remained in power till 885, when it was overthrown by a Brahman Shahi dynasty. Nevertheless some Hun clans remained, at least down to the VIIth century, in the upper Punjab, and waged war against the kings of Sthaneshvara.

(k) India after the Guptas

The Principal Kingdoms

§ 294. The crumbling of the Gupta empire allowed some of the previously existing local powers to extend their sway. The wars, crowned eventually with complete success, against the Huns increased the military power and prestige of several states, like Valabhi and Sthaneshvara. On the other hand, in the same period some kingdoms beyond the Gupta empire appeared and acquired considerable importance quite independent of the war against the Huns. Such are the kingdoms of Gauda (Bengal) and of Kamarupa (Assam) in the east, and those of the Pallava and the Chalukya in the south.

(A) The Northern Group of Kingdoms

Valabhi

§ 295. In Kathiyawar about 490, Bhatarka, "Sun of warriors", general (*senapati*) of the Maitraka, founded a kingdom with its capital at Valabhi. If, as has been supposed, the Maitraka were Huns of the family of Mihirakula, then probably Bhatarka was himself one of the Hun invaders. It is possible, however, that he was an Indian, since we know, from what happened in eastern Malava, that the Huns, like Alexander before them, were willing to allow conquered countries to remain under the authority of their local chiefs. In any case, this general, like Chandragupta Maurya and Pushyamitra, founded a dynasty. Many other military leaders in India, as elsewhere, have acquired sovereign powers by a "pronuncia-

mento". The sequence of the kings of this dynasty is known from inscriptions (see § 108), especially from their numerous donations, many of which were in favour of Buddhists (S. Levi), although the greater number of the kings were Shaivas, except a few such as the 4th, Dhruvasena, who was a Bhagavata, and the 5th, Dharapatta, who was a sun worshipper. The 8th, Shiladitya Dharmaditya, was the uncle of the 10th, Dhruvasena, who reigned in the time of Hiuan-tsang. Now the Chinese pilgrim declares that this Dhruvasena was the nephew of a Shiladitya of (western) Malava. This latter must be the same man as the king of Valabhi. Thus in 641, the date of the passage in Hiuan-tsang, the kingdom of Valabhi extended as far as western Malava (S. Levi). However, the frontiers of the state of Valabhi frequently altered, sometimes extending as far south as Bharukachchha and Surat, though the region of Bharukachchha was more often in the power of a Gurjara dynasty which is supposed to have come from central Asia and to have entered India with the Huns. It must have established itself at Bharukachchha towards the end of the VIth century. Its first known king is Dadda. It maintained its power till about 800, when it was finally overthrown by the Rashtrakuta Govinda III.

The Valabhi dynasty is counted among the northern group of kingdoms because its members date their inscriptions in years of the Gupta era. The 11th, Dhruvasena II Baladitya, fought against Harshavardhana (see § 300). The line maintained itself at least till the 17th king, Shiladitya VII, and was destroyed by the Muslims after 766.

The Kingdom of Gauda

§ 296. The kingdom of Gauda (Bengal) is made famous mainly by a celebrated king, Shashanka, whose history is connected with that of his still more celebrated adversary, Harshavardhana. Shashanka was also called Narendragupta (Buhler), from which it is inferred that he was of Gupta ancestry. There is no doubt that he began as *Mahasamanta,* "great feudatory", at Karnasuvarna in West Bengal, but soon extended his power to the east as far as Assam and to the south over Kalinga, then under Madhavaraja Shailodbhava, who in 619 declared himself his vassal. In the west he annexed Magadha (*Manjushrimulakalpa*). He must have reigned 17 years. He was an intolerant Shaiva and persecuted Buddhism.

The Kingdom of Kamarupa

§ 297. Kamarupa, now called Assam, was contemporaneously with Gauda the seat of an important kingdom with

its capital at Pragjyotisha. It had been subject to Samudragupta in the IVth century. It was ruled by a dynasty which traced its origin back to a hero of the *Mahabharata,* Bhagadatta. A Pushyavarman and his son Samudravarman were probably contemporaries of Chandragupta I nd Samudraguta, but the best known of the kings of the dynasty (all of whose names end in -varman) is Kumara Bhaskaravarman, who was an ally of Harshavardhna agianst Shashanka (see § 300).

Since at least the IInd century B.C. Kamarupa had had commercial relations with China, despite the difficult route to be traversed. An ambassador of the T'ang Li Yi-piao, on a mission to India (643-646) visited Kamarupa. Kumara boasted to him of a remote Chinese ancestry, and asked him for a Sanskrit version of the *Tao to king* of Lao tse.

After Kumara, Kamarupa was governed by a dynasty which lasted till the middle of the VIIIth century.

The Kingdom of Central India

§ 298. After Gupta times the kingdoms of the northern group were all eclipsed by that of central India established at Sthaneshvara, later moved to Kanyakubja.

Sthaneshvara or Sthanvishvara (modern Thaneshvar) is situated on the Sarasvati on the border of Brahmavarta, at the western extremity of the Madhyadesha, guarding the Punjab which was always in danger of foreign domination. This region had been one of the ramparts of the Indo-Aryan civilisation which flourished in central India.

A dynasty of kings whose names end in -vardhana reigned here from Gupta times. The first known of them is Naravardhana. The 3rd, Adityavardhana (end of the VIth century), married Mahasenagupta, a Gupta princess of Magadha. The 4th, Prabhakaravardhana, become a great king, for Bana in the *Harshacharita* represents him as feared by the Huns, by the kings of Gandhara and Sind, and by Gurjara, Lata and Malava. Prabhakaravardhana had two sons, Rajyavardhana, "He who increases the kingdom,,' the elder, and Harshavardhana, "He who increases joy", as well as a daughter, Rajyashri, "Fortune of the kingdom", whom he married to the Maukhari Grahavarman of Kanyakubja.

Accession of Harshavardhana Shiladitya

§ 299. Prabhakaravardhana died in 605, leaving the throne to Rajyavardhana, but the prosperity of the kings of

Sthaneshvara and Kanyakubja excited the ambitions of their neighbours. Grahavarman was murdered by the king of Malava (eastern, no doubt); Rajyavardhana sent an expedition to avenge his brother-in-law and took the king of Malava prisoner; but he himself was soon treacherously murdered by the king of Gauda, Shashanka, of whom we know that he had conquered Magadha and had thus advanced towards the west. It is probable that Shashanka and the king of Malava acted in concert in order to partition the kingdoms of Sthaneshvara and Kanyakubja. Shashanka certainly came as far as the latter town, for Bana tells us that in the meantime "he who has the name Gupta" took Kanyakubja, and Narendragupta is a second name of Shashanka (see § 296). The queen of Kanyakubja, Rajyashri, the sister of Rajyavardhana, was made prisoner at the time of the murder of her husband, but she escaped and disappeared. The kingdoms of Sthaneshvara and Kanyakubja seemed thenceforth to be at the mercy of Shashanka, and no doubt of eastern Malava. But the young Harshavardhana, or Harsha as he is called for brevity, then agen 16, assumed power, though with some hesitation, as Hiuan-tsang reports, and without taking the royal title.

The Reign of Harshavardhana

§ 300. Two factors gave Harsha courage in undertaking his fight for the throne: on the one hand if he were to find his sister Rajyashri, queen of Kanyakubja, he could count on that kingdom as well as on Sthaneshvara, which came to him legitimately; and on the other hand, and more especially, he found support of decisive weight in an alliance which was offered to him, that of Kumara Bhaskaravarman of Kamarupa, the enemy of Shashanka.

Learning that Rajyashri had fled to the Vindhya mountains, he went in search of her and found her when she was just about to mount the funeral pyre, and took her back to central India. Aided by the king of Kamarupa, he succeeded in defeating Shashanka and expelling him from Magadha. The war, waged with an army of 5,000 elephants, 20,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry, lasted at least five years. Since Harsha took power in 606, the date of origin of the era founded by him, it was only in 611 or 612 that his sovereignty was definitely established. It appears that he did not take the royal title until that time. Up to that point he was called by the title "prince", Rajakumara, Shiladitya. But later, in an inscription dated the 25th year of his reign, and of his era, he

called himself "the Supreme Lord, Emperor, His Fortune Harsha" (*Parama bhattaraka maharajadhiraja shri Harsha*). Hiuen-tsang bears witness to his grandeur. The Buddhist pilgrim arrived in India in 630 and travelled round the country till 644. He lived a long time in Harsha's realm and was received by him in friendship. He states that from this time the capital of Harsha was Kanyakubja, where in the official audience his sister sat behind him. However, according to other evidence she shared the administration with him. It is clear that Rajyashri, although a widow, actually inherited her husband's kingdom, under the imperial suzerainty of her brother. At the height of his power Harsha possessed an army of 60,000 elephants and 100,000 cavalry. This army reduced to submission a number of outlying kingdoms. Between 633 and 641 Harsha defeated the king of Valabhi, Dhruvasena II Baladitya, who took refuge with the Gurjara king Dadda IV of Bharukachchha, then on making his submission was reestablished in his kingdom, and was even given a daughter of Harsha in marriage. In 643 Harsha attacked the king of Kongoda, a country which had belonged to Shashanka (see § 296). But before this Harsha's power had been weakened in a clash with that of the Chalukya Pulakeshin, who ruled the Dekkan (see § 307).

The Personality of Harsha

§ 301. Faithful to the traditions of the great rulers of India, Harsha was the impartial protector of all spiritual culture. His ancestors had been devotees of the supreme Aditya (*Paramaditya bhakta*), that is of Vishnu as the sun-god. He was himself a devotee of Maheshwara, and was thus a Shaiva, but nevertheless favoured Buddhism, to which faith his sister Rajyashri was converted. No doubt it is stated that when Hiuan-tsang lived at his court some Brahmans, jealous of the favour shown to the Buddhists, and especially to the Chinese pilgrim, tried to have him assassinated, and if this is true it may seem to cast doubt on his religious impartiality. This is however established : some charters of Madhuban and of Bhanskera prove that he made donations to Brahmans, and on the other hand Hiuan-tsang himself, as a Buddhist, experienced his liberality.

His munificence towards rival sects was the outcome, however, less of a natural impartiality than of the tendency of his age towards a religious syncretism, a tendency which he showed by a characteristic trait. Hiuan-tsang states that at the time

of his accession he prayed to the Bodhisattva Avalokiteshwara ; but the Maheshvara of his inscriptions cannot be any other than Shiva, though this Shiva is qualified as *Sarva sattvanukampin,* "having compassion for all beings", and is thus connected with the Avalokiteshwara of the Buddhists.

§ 302. His attitude recalls in some measure that of Asoka: he was liberal, he strove for the realisation of a *dharma,* which, as with Asoka, was the perfect natural Order, and finally in his inscriptions, which however are not in general comparable to those of Asoka, he preached good works and proclaimed that man must consecrate himself by action, by thought and by word to all that is beneficial for that which lives, for there is no better way to obtain the realisation of the Order.

Literary activity was very brilliant in Harsha's reign : he continued worthily the patronage extended to it by the western Kshatrapas and the Guptas. Bana, Mayura, Manatunga and Bhartrihari are among the principal literary glories of his time. Three plays and two Buddhist hymns of great beauty are attributed to Harsha himself.

The Civilisition of Harsha and the Heritage of the Guptas

§ 303. The personality of Harsha has been magnified for us in an exceptional degree by his literary biography and by the appreciative testimony of Hiuan-tsang. But it was not in itself exceptional. The military glory of his reign, the favour and tolerance of the religious spirit, the flowering of literature, the economic prosperity, were characteristics of his time and of his empire, not effects of his personal actions, however favourable these may have been. It was the Gupta civilisation which he revived and supported. Chance has brought it about that for the Gupta period the individual actions of the kings are less known in detail and the dates of the poets and learned men are less often well established than is the case for the times of Harsha. But the glory of the Gupta civilisation, though we cannot describe it with such accuracy, is not the less fully substantiated. The India of Harsha did no more than continue, on the eve of the age of anarchy and the Muslim invasions, the imperial India of the Guptas.

Under the Guptas and under Harsha the Indian culture not only shone brilliantly at home but was powerfully radiated abroad. The Kushana empire, astride India and central Asia, diffused the Indian culture in the latter region. The relations

established with the regions of the north-west continued with the central India of the Guptas, where there were many Buddhist holy places. In addition to the famous pilgrim Fa-hian, many Chinese monks came to pay pious visits to these holy places, and were able to take back to their country information about India and Indian ideas. This is the case of Che-mong and Fa-yong among others (Vth century). In the Gupta period India was also in contact with Indo-China, where her influence had been taken even earlier ; but these relations were not established with the Gupta empire in particular. In the IVth and Vth centuries, and especially in the VIth, a number of Indian monks went to Central Asia and China and there translated many Buddhist works. In the VIth century also Sassanian Persia borrowed from India a whole literature of fables and moral tales which were later to pass into all the languages of Euope.

In addition to the pilgrim Hiuan-tsang, Harsha received two ambassadors, Li Yi-piao and Wang Hiuan-ts'o, sent by the emperor T'ai-tsong of the T'ang. So great was the desire to confirm the relations established between the two countries that Wang Hiuan-ts'o was sent to him a second time, but the second time Wang arrived after the death of Harsha.

Harsha's Empire Crumbles

§ 304. Harsha died in 647, and troubles soon set in. His son did not succeed him, either because he was already dead or because he was ousted. Wang Hiuan-ts'o, returning to India soon after the death of Harsha, found not a great and well-governed empire but a country in anarchy. He was attacked and robbed by the king A-lo-na-choen (Arjuna ?) of Ti-na-fu-ti (Tirabhukti, Tirhut), but got away, and taking refuge in Nepal, he soon organised an expedition against A-lo-na-choen. At the head of two small contingents furnished, the one by the king of Nepal and the other by that of Tibet, Sron-bean-sgam-po, he fell upon A-io-no-choen, took him prisoner and carried him off to China. The kings of Nepal and Tibet had close relations with China, so it is natural that they should give aid to the official envoy of that empire, but the contingents they furnished were very modest : 1200 Tibetans and 7000 Nepalese. They would not have sufficed to attack an empire like that of Harsha : they could gain a victory only over a state in decay. Thus very soon after his death the empire of Harsha crumbled. Such an empire was reestablished only later by foreign invaders.

(B) The Southern Group of Kingdoms

§ 305. The Pallava, who had appeared already in the previous period, and the Chalukya, whose greatness began later, are the two principal powers which formed a group of southern kingdoms to rival the northern group ranged round central India.

The Pallava

§ 306. The Pallava are sometimes supposed to have taken their origin from the Parthians. The similarity of the names, Pahlava and Pallava, is the basis for this hypothesis, for which however tradition supplies no support. Tradition has it that the first Pallava king was married to the daughter of a Naga king. Such statements are usually considered legendary, the Nagas being "dragons", but Naga is also a name adopted by real families or persons. The founder of the Pallava dynasty in the IIIrd century may have married a Maratha princess of the Naga family (Jouveau-Dubrouil). The king in question is Bappadeva, whose son was Shivaskandavarman, who in a Prakrit charter (see § 113) donated a village in Andhra, and thus must have ruled part of that country, while his capital was at Kanjipuram in the Tamil land. This prince claims to belong to the Bharadvaja gotra, and thus to be a Brahman. We have some genealogies of the Pallava kings, many of whose names end in -varman. Several of them are named Vishnu-gopa, and one of these reigned in the time of Samudragupta, in the middle of the IVth century. Already important in the Vth century, the Pallava became still more powerful in the VIth. About 575 Simha vishnu seized control of the Chola country. His successors fought, often with success, against the Chalukyas. A contemporary of Harsha, Nara simha varman (Simha vishnu Maha malla, c. 625-645), defied Pulakeshin II about 642, and invaded the Tamil kingdoms of the far south, and even Ceylon. An important part of the rock-cut temples at Mamallapuram, the "City of Mahamalla", goes back to his reign. In his time Tamil literature experienced one of its most flourishing periods. After him the defeated Chalukya took their revenge on the Pallava, but the dynasty, whose existing monuments prove its continued grandeur down to the IXth century, nonetheless maintained its magnificence. Indo-China owes much of its Indianised culture to the Pallava.

The Western Chalukya

§ 307. The dynasty of the Chalukya, called "Western" or "of Badami", to distinguish them from the later Chalukya,

originated in the Kannada country but belong traditionally to the north. Their first capital was at Ayyavole, the "Town of the Aryas" (modern Aihole, Skt. Aryapura), and the Chalukya kings are supposed to derive from the Solar dynasty of Ayodhya or from Gurjara clans. Their name is sometimes given in the inscriptions as Chalikya (see § 114).

The first prince mentioned in the inscriptions is Jaya simha. He is to be dated about 500, at the time of the disappearance of the dynasty of the Vakataka of Vidarbha, who had extended their power as far as the Kannada country. His son Ranaraga built the temple of Maha kuteshwara about 525. His grandson, Pulakeshin (I), "With shaggy hair", or Pulikeshin, "With tiger's hair" (Puli = tiger in Dravidian), ascended the throne about 550 at Vatapi (modern Badami), taken no doubt from the Kadamba of Banavasi, at whose expense the 4th king, Kirti varman I Rana parakrama, again extended his domains (566-597). The 5th king, Mangalesha Prithvivallabha (597-608), for a brief period controlled the whole Dekkan from one coast to the other.

Pulukeshin II

§ 308. The height of the Chalukya power was attained under the 6th king, Satyashraya Pulakeshin II, Prithivi vallabha (609-642). The kingdom then included the whole of the western Dekkan from the Narmada basin to that of the Krishna, and thus covered all Maharashtra, the land of the Marathas, and beyond.

Pulakeshin II was a warlike king who waged campaigns to north, east and south. He subdued the Andhra country between the Godavari and the Krishna, and in 611 set up his brother Vishnu vardhana at Vengi, where the dynasty of the Eastern Chalukyas maintained its power till the XIIth century. He also seized Pitthapuram, on the coast north of the mouth of the Godavari. About 620 Harsha attacked him, but on the evidence of Hiuan-tsang did not succeed in defeating him or even in inspiring him with awe. An inscription composed by the poet Ravikirti in 634-5 gives all these exploits and many others (see § 114). He took Banavasi, subdued the Ganga and the Alupa, peoples of the south, freed the Tamil kingdoms of the far south from fear of the Pallava, and overawed the Kalinga and the Koshala. In the west he subdued the Lata, the Malava, the Gurjara, and the Maurya of the Konkan. It is certain that these claims are not exaggerated. The kingdom of the Chalukya under Pulakeshin II was a great empire, a

worthy counterpart south of the Vindhyas to that of Harsha to the north.

This empire of the Dekkan rivalled that of Harsha in military glory, and also in cultural and artistic activity. It was in its territory and in its time that the Ajanta caves began to be adorned with the frescos which are the greatest work of Indian painting.

The power of Pulakeshin II, like that of Harsha, was known abroad. The Arab historian Tabari mentions that the Sassanian Khusru Parviz received an ambassador from him in 625.

The Last Years of Pulakeshin

§ 309. The end of Pulakeshin's reign was, however, unfortunate. About 642, after a period of defeat, the Pallava attacked the Chalukya empire. Narasimhavarman, helped by an exiled prince from Ceylon, Manavamma, was able to mobilise enough power to defeat the empire which had repulsed Harsha and to advance across Pulakeshin's territory as far as the capital. Pulakeshin died at this time or soon afterwards, but we have no precise information about his end.

India in the VIIth Century after Harsha and Pulakeshin

§ 310. After Harsha the empire of northern India disintegrated and was never reestablished. At this time Indian culture had reached its period of full development and complete maturity, and thus the VIIth century, after Harsha, can be considered as marking the end of the classical age of the Indian culture.

Hitherto creative activities in all domains, literary, philosophical, scientific, and artistic, were centred in the north, whence they soon radiated to the south as far as Ceylon, and by the north-west route to all Asia. In the south they came into contact with the Dravidian civilisation, and though far from eclipsing it, they added new elements to it. In all the Aryanised south the Dravidian culture, especially the Tamil, remained alive together with the Sanskrit culture, forming at the same time its competitor and its associate.

In the VIIth century, once the Indo-Aryan empire of the north had disappeared, political preponderance passed to the southern kingdoms, which were well prepared to perpetuate the Indo-Aryan culture long since adopted among them, but ready also to continue their patronage to the Dravidian culture.

Historical Table of India to the VIIth Century

The history of ancient India in many periods appears very complex and full of gaps and uncertainties. This unfortunate situation is due not only to the poverty and insufficiency of many of our sources, but also—and to an extent which should not be underestimated—to the immense size and the long historical period which India constitutes. So many peoples, differing in race, language, culture and geographical origin, have participated in these events that there is less cause for surprise at their complexity than at finding an outline which is in general solidly based emerging from the chaos of facts. The indisputable primary evidence and the secondary support to it are sufficient to enable us to trace the broad outline of a historical table.

The Civilisation of Mohenjo-Daro

§ 311. India is one of the most ancient countries of high civilisation. In the third millennium B.C. in the Punjab and the Indus valley there existed the civilisation of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa, a civilisation which possessed written characters and was characterised by the construction of large towns in which urbanism was developed to a degree which has hardly been attained elsewhere till modern times. This civilisation was preceded and followed by other notable cultures.

The Aryan Invasions

§ 312. Probably about the middle of the second millennium B.C. north-west India was invaded and effectively occupied by some "Aryan" tribes who elaborated the "Vedic" literature in Sanskrit, a language related to Iranian and the principal European languages.

The Aryan clans continued to advance into India, passing from the upper Indus valley to that of the Ganges and later towards the south. They introduced into the country the Vedic cult, established the religious supremacy of the Brahman caste which practised the cult, and elaborated the sacred literature while outlining cosmologies, philosophies and sciences. The clans were frequently at war among themselves. The stories of their wars in the upper Ganges valley formed the nucleus of the epic legends composed later. Two great dynastic groups shared power in central India, one claiming descent from the Moon, and the other from the Sun. The former occupied in particular the heart of Brahmanic India, the country of the Kuru and the Panchala, the basin of the

upper Ganges and its tributary the Yamuna ; the second occupied the region to the east which had been Brahmanised more recently, to the north of the middle Ganges, the country of the Koshala and the Videha.

The Persian Invasions

§ 313. At the end of the VIth century B.C., on the west the Achemenian Persians invaded the Indus valley and there established their satrapies. At the same time in the east were born two great non-ritualistic religions which profoundly transformed the Indo-Aryan culture but without reducing the spiritual power of Brahmanism. Political power in central India was divided among a number of kingdoms, such as that of Magadha, and confederations ruled by clans of nobles, such as those of the Shakya and the Lichchhavi.

Alexander's Invasion and the Mauryan Empire

§ 314. At the end of the IVth century B.C., Alexander, who had just occupied the Achemenian empire, invaded the western regions of India which had been subjugated by those kings. He died soon afterwards, and India rose against the officers he had left in charge. She was led in this revolt by Chandragupta. But he liberated the land in order to subdue it. Once the Greeks were expelled, he overthrew the dynasty which ruled Magadha and founded the Maurya empire. Soon afterwards one of Alexander's former lieutenants, Seleukos, declared himself king at Babylon, but had to refrain from claiming the Indian possessions of the Persians and the conquests of Alexander. Chandragupta's grandson, Asoka, in the middle of the IIIrd century B.C., was the greatest sovereign of his age and one of the greatest of all time. In a period when the West and the Far East were torn asunder by the struggles of many rising and declining powers, Asoka held firm an immense empire in which he tried, without going to utopian extremes to establish an ideal Order, which he also sought to propagate abroad.

The Shunga and the Indo-Greek Kingdoms

§ 315. At the beginning of the IInd century B.C. the Maurya dynasty was overthrown by the Shunga, but the empire broke up, and its political influence disappeared with the loss of its unity. The Greeks of Bactriana, where Diodotos had founded a kingdom about 250 B.C., invaded India. Demetrios, Apollodotos and Menandros again occupied those parts of India which had been under the Achemenian satrapies

and Alexander, and advanced further into regions which had not been conquered before. They lost Bactriana when another Greek, Eukratides, seized control of it. They had to retreat to the west and were repulsed from central India, but they maintained their power in the north-west, where Menandros reigned gloriously. Greek influence in India, negligible in Alexander's time, became important despite the fact that these dynasties became Indianised.

§ 316. The Indo-Greek kingdoms did not last long. In the middle of the IInd century B.C., some eastern Iranian peoples, under pressure from some other peoples from central Asia who had driven them from their territories, attacked the Parthians, who resisted them, and the Greeks of Bactriana, whom they destroyed. Some of these peoples, the Saka, established themselves in Drangiana and Arachosia, allied themselves with the Parthians, and then invaded the Indus valley in the early part of the Ist century B.C. and there supplanted the Greeks. Others, who had entered Bactriana about 130 B.C., set up about 30 B.C. under the authority of Kujulakaphsa a kingdom called the Kushana. The Kushana in turn invaded India about the Christian era, and in the course of the Ist century A.D. destroyed the Saka or reduced them to vassalage. The kingdom expanded into an immense empire, straddling India and central Asia. Kanishka is the greatest of the Kushana. Under his rule, that part of India subject to him did not lose its national character. Buddhism flourished there, and took advantage of the relations established between India and central Asia by the power which encroached first upon the one and then upon the other to propagate itself in central Asia and thence towards the Far East.

In the west of India from the Ist to the IVth century A.D. Saka satraps, profoundly Indianised, and probably subordinate to the imperial power of the Kushana, held sway : the Kshaharata and the Kshatrapas of Ujjayini.

The Iranian Invaders and the Empire of the Satakani

§ 317. However, during the period of these great invasions, the greater part of the Indian peninsula remained independent. Many local powers were established in the provinces, and a great empire arose as a bulkwark against the invader.

At the beginning of the Ist century B.C. the prodominant power passed from the Shunga to the kings of the Dekkan, the Andhrabhritya or Satakani. The Satakani fought the

foreigners. They destroyed the Kshaharata, but were held in check by the Kshatrapas of Ujjayini, with whom they made peace. However, Indians and Indianised foreigners competed in enriching and refining the Indo-Aryan culture, Sanskrit or Prakrit. At the same time in the far south another culture called Dravidian developed parallel to that of the north, influenced by it, but independent in the language which served it as its means of expression, the Tamil.

Politically, the far south was divided among powerful and warlike Dravidian kingdoms, which already had a history of some antiquity, since in the middle of the IIIrd century B.C. Asoka mentions them in his inscriptions. The island of Ceylon was often the object of attack from these kingdoms, and the Tamil culture was introduced, but it gave way before that of the north imported at an early period and reinforced in the IIIrd century B.C. by the spread of Buddhism. Important commercial and cultural intercourse between the whole peninsula and the Mediterranean West took place by sea from the Ist century A.D.

The Pallava, the Gupta & the Huns

§ 318. Moreover, from the IIIrd century A.D. in the south there began to develop a power destined to a long period of eminence and an important part in the Indianisation of Indo-China and Indonesia, that of the Pallava. In central India from the IVth to the VIth century it is once more the ancient imperial centre of the Maurya, Magadha, which became the principal political power of India. The dynasty of the Gupta reigned gloriously over the whole country except the Dekkan, and under its auspices the classical culture of India reached its greatest height.

The first Gupta kings at the end of the IVth century eliminated the last of the western Kshatrapas. In the middle of the Vth century the last of the Kushana of the north-west, who had been decadent since the IIIrd century, when the Sassanians of Iran had taken Bactriana from them, were replaced by the Kidarites, invaders who once more had come from central Asia.

But behind the Kidarites came the white Hephthalite Huns, who soon replaced them and penetrated into north-west India. Despite the resistance of the Guptas, before the end of the Vth century the Huns had reached Malava in western India. They established an Indian empire, the administration of which, at least in Malava, they left to the former vassals of the Guptas. But the Indians rallied and drove the

Huns to the north-west in the first third of the VIth century, while shortly afterwards the Sassanians, in alliance with the Turks who had also come from central Asia, crushed them in Gandhara. Those who remained in India now lost all political importance.

The Huns thus suffered the fate to which eventually all invaders of India since the Persians had submitted. Held in the east by the resistance of the Indians, they disappeared under the blows inflicted on them in the region of the Hindu-kush by peoples from the west and from central Asia.

The Empire of Harsha

§ 319. The Gupta empire, like those which had preceded it, came to an end through a gradual disintegration. Several kingdoms divided its territories. At the beginning of the VIth century one of them, that of Sthaneshvara, on the western borders of central India, took the lead of the others through the energy and good fortune of Harshavardhana and re-established an empire almost as extensive as that of the Guptas. Harshavardhana was not only a great king; he was a poet and a protector of religions and of letters. Under his rule the Indo-Aryan culture continued to flourish as under the Guptas. But the empire began to disintegrate as soon as the sovereign disappeared. It was the last empire founded in central India by an Indian king, and its fall marks the end of the classical period of the Indian civilisation, which was soon to fall before the attacks of Islam. Henceforth the great powers which maintained the Indian cultural tradition were centred in the south, where the Pallava kingdom was already expanding, and Harsha himself had vainly measured his strength with that of the Chalukya. From the IInd millennium B.C. to the VIth century A.D. the Indian culture developed and formed itself, conquered the entire extent of the peninsula and spread to the whole of eastern Asia, after having established itself in its classical form, which later development never ceased to change and enrich while still perpetuating it.

BRIEF CHRONOLOGY

B.C.		
3500-3000	...	... Civilisation of Baluchistan
2500-2000	...	... Civilisation of Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa. Inscribed seals. Civilisation of Jhukar and Chanhu-Daro.
Before 1500	...	... Aryan invasion. Rigveda.
1500.	...	... Bharata War. Krishna.
1400	...	... Parikshit. Atharvaveda.
1300	...	... Yajnavalkya. White Yajurveda..
1200-1000 (?)	...	... Brahmanisation of Videha. Janaka. Rama.
1000-800	...	... *Shata patha brahmana, Brihadaranyakopanishad.*
558	...	... Birth of the Buddha.
540	...	... Birth of the Jina.
538	...	... Accession of Bimbisara.
518	...	... Conquest of the Indus Valley by Darius I.
486	...	... Accession of Ajatashatru.
478	...	... Death of the Buddha (Nirvana).
468	...	... Death of the Jina.
454	...	... Death of Ajatashatru.
327	...	... Invasion of Alexander.
325	...	... Departure of Alexander.
323	...	... Death of Alexander.
322	...	... Appearance of Chandragupta Maurya.
318	...	... Death of the Puru.
316	...	... Retreat of Peithon.
313	...	... Fall of the Nanda. Chandragupta, king of Magadha.
305	...	... Treaty between Chandragupta and Seleukos.

289	...	...	Accession of Bindusara.
264	...	...	Accession of Asoka.
260	...	...	Coronation of Asoka.
251	...	...	Conquest of Kalinga.
250	...	...	Asoka becomes Upasaka.
249	...	...	Agreement with the Buddhist Community, and relations with the Greek kings.
248-247	...	...	Revolt of the Parthians.
227-226	...	...	Death of Asoka.
Between 189 and 168		...	Invasion of India by Demetrios.
c176	...	...	Rise of the Shunga. Pushyamitra.
c168	...	...	Retreat of the Greek invaders of Central India.
c168-145	...	...	Reign of Menandros in the Punjab.
130	...	...	Invasion of Bactriana by the Yue-che.
128	...	...	Victory of the Saka over the Parthians. Death of Phraate II.
Before 100	...	...	Antialkidas. Bhagabhadra.
c90-80	...	...	Invasion of Saka (Indo-Scythians).
80-30	...	...	Overthrow of most of the Indo-Greek dynasties by the Saka, Moa, Azes, Azilizes.
c70	...	...	Fall of the Shunga and the Kanva. Rise of the Andhrabhritya.
58	...	...	Defeat of the Saka in Avanti (western Malava) by an Andhrabhritya surnamed Vikramaditya (?). Vikrama era or era of Azes.
1st Century B.C.		...	Kharavela in Kalinga.
A.D. Christian Era		...	Shodasa satrap at Mathura.
1st half of 1st Century A.D.			Gondophares. St. Thomas.
c30	...	...	Rise of the Kushana power. Kujulakaphsa.
78	...	...	Nahapana. Saka era. Expansion of Kushan power in India.

90	...	...	Expedition of Yue-che in central Asia defeated by Pan Ch'ao.
91 or 92	...	...	Death of Kujulakaphsa. Vimakadphises.
106	...	...	Accession of Gotamiputa Satakani.
125	...	...	Destruction of the Kshaharata by Gotamiputa Satakani.
130	...	...	Chashtana and Rudradaman kings of Ujjayini. Siri Pulumayi Vasithiputa Satakani.
144	...	...	Kanishka. Era of Kanishka.
150	...	...	Rudradaman. Girnar inscription.
c200	...	...	Dismemberment of the Andhrabhritya empire.
Between 241 and 251		...	Conquest of part of India by Shahpuhr I. End of Vasudeva, last of the great Kushana.
c250	...	...	Rise of the Kadamba.
320	...	...	Accession of Chandragupta I. Gupta era.
335	...	...	Death of Chandragupta. Accession of Samudragupta. Vishnugopa the Pallava.
375	...	...	Death of Samudragupta. Accession of Chandragupta II Vikramaditya.
400	...	...	End of the Kshatrapas of Ujjayini.
414	...	...	Death of Chandragupta II. Accession of Kumaragupta I.
c450	...	...	Overthrow of the last Kushan king by the Kidarites. Occupation of Gandhra by the Huns.
Shortly before 455		...	Hun invasion repulsed.
c455	...	...	Death of Kumaragupta I. Accession by Skandagupta.
484	...	...	Budhagupta. Defeat of the Sassanian Peroz by the Huns in Iran.
Shortly after 484		...	Toramana reaches eastern Malava.

490	...	...	Appearance of the kingdom of Valabhi.
c500	...	...	Rise of the Chalukya. Jayasimha.
510	...	...	Campaign of Bhanugupta against the Huns. Dismemberment of the Gupta empire.
518-522	...	...	Journey of Son Yun through Gandhara under the Huns.
After 520	...	...	Occupation of Kashmir by the Huns.
533	...	...	Yashodharman, Mihirakula renders homage to him.
c550	...	...	End of the power of the Huns. Pulakeshin I installed in power at Badami.
605	...	...	Death of Prabhakaravardhana of Sthaneshvara. Accession of Rajyavardhana, and his assassination by Shasanka of Bengal.
605-606	...	...	Accession of Harshavardhana. Harsha era.
609	...	...	Accession of Pulakeshin II.
611	...	...	Vishnuvardhana, brother of Pulakeshin, established at Vengi.
620	...	...	Victory of Pulakeshin II over Harshavardhana.
625	...	...	Ambassador of Pulakeshin II to Khusru Parviz in Iran.
625-645	...	...	Simhavishnu of the Pallava.
630-644	...	...	Residence of Hiuan-tsang in India.
642	...	...	Defeat of Pulakeshin II by Simhavishnu. Death of Pulakeshin.
647	...	...	Death of Harshavardhana.